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"LE COURIER DE L'AMÉRIQUE," PHILADELPHIA, 1784

BY AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER

THESE notes will be more in the nature of a narrative bibliography rather than of an anatomical or descriptive, as Mr. Cole suggests, since what I desire to relate is more or less a personal account of a search for *Le Courier de l'Amérique* during nearly twenty years, after having had my attention called to it by some vague references. The sale at auction of a set of this paper in 1919 brought to light at last a publication which has been almost a myth. No copies had ever been seen and yet everyone who had studied the history of newspapers in this country or the history of Pennsylvania in the revolutionary period knew that *Le Courier* had probably existed.

The only reference recorded in bibliographies was of an advertisement which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 30, 1784, published in Philadelphia, stating that Boinod and Gaillard, a firm of French booksellers, who had been established in Philadelphia since the time when the French alliance had brought a number of Frenchmen to Philadelphia, were about to publish a newspaper in the French tongue. Hildeburn mentions this in *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press* (item 4462), referring to Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia.* The latter history mentions the advertisement and states

that the paper "was commenced but had only a short existence." Evans, 18424, repeats the statement and says "no copies appear to be extant." Outside of these references the matter ends so far as printed record goes.

My own interest began when studying the political situation in Pennsylvania from 1776 to 1790 for my doctoral dissertation. Searching all the newspapers of the period, including one or two German papers, it seemed as though some additional side lights might be found if the French newspaper published during the heated political contests of 1784 could be examined. Since the author of the chapter in Scharf and Westcott stated that it had been published, it seemed as though some file must be found among the newspaper collections in the country. Naturally enough the Philadelphia libraries were investigated first, but despite almost complete sets of Philadelphia papers of the period, there was not a sign of a reference to *Le Courier.* Nor had Harrisburg a copy. By writing to other libraries, by investigating personally every likely place, negative results were secured for Washington, Albany, New York, Boston, Cambridge, Worcester, Montpelier, Concord, New Hampshire, Hartford, Providence, New Haven, and Madison. Mr. Brigham wrote that he had no note of the paper in preparing his copy for Pennsylvania for the American Antiquarian Society list of newspapers.

Since the public libraries most noted in the newspaper field and those most noted in early American history had failed, it seemed that there were two other kinds of

libraries where the paper might be found. First were the private libraries of collectors, either newly gathered, or descending from earlier ancestor collectors, but since Mr. Brigham had no record, discovery was likely to be made only when one of these libraries was dispersed, or when the owner of some such library published a catalogue of its treasures. In twenty years neither of these things has happened. The second possible chance of finding a copy was in a foreign library. In 1914 Mr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association and at the time directing the research of the Carnegie Institution in Paris, was asked to investigate the archives there. Mr. Leland's departure from Paris in September of that year left the investigation unmade but later search shows that *Le Courier* does not appear in the *Catalogue générale* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, or in their *Catalogue de l'histoire de l'Amérique*, nor is there any reference to it in Hatin, *Bibliographie de la presse périodique française.*

Failing all of the above, there was still the possibility of finding references to *Le Courier* other than the advertisement. This was, strange to say, fairly easy, and it is possible that Scharf and Westcott had known of them. There were additional advertisements in both June and July and there were references in the Philadelphia newspapers during the summer and fall of 1784, which taken out and pieced together, give a definite idea of *Le Courier.* These references center mainly around two incidents, the Longchamps case and the gift of some books by the French king to the University of Pennsylvania.

The Longchamps case was that of a French officer in Philadelphia who married an estimable young Philadelphia lady, whose guardian asked for Longchamps' papers. He went to Barbé de Marbois, the French consul, to have them authenticated. An altercation arose, and Longchamps assaulted Marbois. He was arrested and tried twice before the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Several features of the trial were of interest in international law, such as the sovereignty of Pennsylvania, the rights of ministers and of consuls, and expatriation. They were of interest also to French Americans, like Boinod and Gaillard and others, many of whom were in America because of their admiration for American democratic institutions. One instance was the willingness of the supreme executive of Pennsylvania, John Dickinson, to appear as a witness in the trial, another was the demand of France that Longchamps be sent to France for trial. *Le Courier de l'Amérique* therefore began what was a most remarkable piece of legal reporting. The trial was given in full, including the speeches of counsel on both sides. This was so ably done and of such interest that the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Packet* began to translate and print it. The first instalment appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 4, and said it was copied from *Le Courier* without however giving any date. Instalments then appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 11 and 18, and in the *Packet* of August 7, 19, and 28, September 11 and 27, October 30, November 24. In its issue of November 24, its instalment from *Le Courier* said

the case ended "last Friday." But the date is deceiving so far as determining anything about *Le Courier*, for the *Packet* gradually fell behind *Le Courier* in the length and frequency of its instalments, and the end of the case reported on November 24 actually occurred on October 8.

From these continuous references it was possible to gather that *Le Courier* began publication in July and continued as late as about October 12. The firm of Boinod and Gaillard was dissolved by the death of Gaillard, which occurred some time between August 11 and November 24, so it was evident that no issues were published later than November. It was almost impossible to settle definitely from the reports of the trial the frequency of publication, but it was evident that it was at least once a week and possibly oftener.

The other incident that brought *Le Courier* into other papers was the gift by the French king of one hundred books to the University of Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note that over fifty of these books are, despite vicissitudes of a century and a third, still in the university library, but the interesting thing at the time was that *Le Courier* cast slurs on the gift. As a result, Francis Hopkinson, trustee of the university and judge, called on Messrs. Boinod and Gaillard and ordered them to retract and apologize. The publishers refused, and Hopkinson then threatened that he would cause them the loss of five subscribers. Apparently this would have been a serious loss. This was reported in the *Packet* of August 8 and 10, in the *Journal* of August 11, and the *Gazette* of

August 11. Boinod and Gaillard's reply, dated August 11, and what they said in their paper dated August 10, were published in the *Packet* of August 12, and in the *Freeman's Journal*, *Gazette*, and *Journal* the following week. There were also "Queries" written by "A. B." asking whether foreigners who set up presses were not "secretly undermining the foundations of our peace and political interest."

From this incident it is quite evident that publication was oftener than once a week, also that the attitude of the paper was in favor of the Constitutionalist party in Pennsylvania politics. This party was the democratic party, and was considered radical by some of the Republican party and by all the tories. This throws an interesting side light on the character of the foreigners who came to the United States during and after the war. In general they were those who were interested in the democratic ideas of the new country and who were getting away from reaction and autocracy at home.

The conclusions as to *Le Courier* were that it was established in July, 1784, and continued about twice a week until October; that it was interested in Pennsylvania affairs with a leaning to the Democratic party; and that although published in French it was antimonarchical. I had written and rewritten these facts and conclusions but always hesitated to publish, hoping that somewhere a copy would turn up.

The unexpected, yet hoped-for, event occurred in September, 1917. At the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Edward E. Ayer collection on the American Indian had for some years through the initiative of Mr. Ayer

been securing transcripts from foreign archives. Many of these were selections relating to special fields, or to the Indians alone, but when it came to the letters and dispatches from the Spanish minister at Philadelphia to the king of Spain the archives at Seville were copied in their entirety. This was fortunate for historical research and these transcripts are already being used by investigators. The curator of the Ayer collection casually remarked to me one morning that some transcripts just received might be of interest to me as they referred to a Philadelphia newspaper printed in French. I hastened to see these, and to my overwhelming astonishment found typewritten sheets, word for word copies, of ten numbers of *Le Courier*, articles, news notes, advertisements, and all. The Spanish minister had suggested to His Catholic Majesty that he might be interested in a French newspaper published in Philadelphia. The file was not complete, but it bore out the conclusions previously drawn from occasional references.

There the matter rested. I took copious notes, but circumstances prevented writing any announcement of the find at the time.

In December, 1919, came a further most unexpected event, and what seemed a disconcerting one to a person with an unpublished article concerning a unique publication. That was the offer at public auction of a file of *Le Courier*. The sale was at Henkels, on December 22, and the cataloguer of the sale knew the rarity of the item offered and made full display of the treasure, giving two pages to the description of it. The statement was made

that it was a unique copy, and upon my writing to Mr. Henkels that I was interested in the item as I knew there was a copy in Europe, but supposed that I was the only interested person who knew of it. Mr. Henkels replied that this was probably the same copy, which of course it was not. Later the consignors told me it had come from Cuba, in a collection of letters all addressed to the governor-general of Cuba. Possibly the Spanish minister had sent a copy to him also. Another dealer said it had been offered privately, first for $2,000, then for $1,500. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was naturally interested in the item. At the sale about twelve bidders started but all dropped out soon except the Historical Society and the Library of Congress. At $600 the Society dropped out, as it was the belief that the Library of Congress was willing to bid to $1,000. So the only known set of the *Le Courier de l'Amérique* in this country went to the Library of Congress, at the cost of $650, about $73 per number of four pages each.

The cataloguers of the item for the auction sale were apparently puzzled by the irregularity of the numbering, and mentioned that three issues were wrongly numbered. As a matter of fact, all were numbered correctly, but the Roman figures generally indicated the Tuesday issue and the same Arabic numeral the Friday issue of the same week. There were evidently twenty-six issues besides supplements and of these the Library of Congress has nine and eight more are at Seville. The last two only are in both places.

The paper started July 27 and appeared on Tuesdays and Fridays until October 22. The price was one guinea per annum, payable one-half at a time, in advance, and as the paper ran only three months, the subscribers who paid lost part of their money. The papers were numbered in an unusual way, for in general the Roman numeral was attached to the Tuesday issue and the same Arabic numeral was given to the Friday issue of the same week. This, however, did not always hold. The list of issues, together with locations, is as follows:

In Library of Congress	At Seville	Missing
1 Mardi 27 July	.....	.....
2 Ven. 30 July [i.e., Pt. 2 of 1]	.....	.....
.....	.....	II Mardi 3 Aug.
2 Ven. 6 Aug. [i.e., Pt. 2 of 2]	.....	.....
.....	III 10 Aug.	.....
.....	III 13 Aug. [i.e., Pt. 2 of III]	.....
IIII Mardi 17 Aug.	.....	.....
.....	4 Ven. 20 Aug.	.....
V Mardi 24 Aug.	.....	.....
5 Ven. 27 Aug.	.....	.....
.....	.....	VI Mardi 31 Aug.
.....	.....	6 Ven. 3 Sept.
.....	.....	VII Mardi 7 Sept.
.....	.....	7 Ven. 10 Sept.
.....	.....	VIII Mardi 14 Sept.
.....	.....	8 Ven. 17 Sept.
.....	.....	IX Mardi 21 Sept.
.....	.....	9 Ven. 24 Sept.
.....	X 28 Sept.	.....
.....	10 1 Oct.	.....
XI 5 Oct.	.....	.....
.....	11 8 Oct.	.....
.....	XII 12 Oct.	.....
.....	12 15 Oct.	.....
XIII 19 Oct.	XIII 19 Oct.	.....
13 22 Oct.	13 22 Oct.	.....

The paper thus ran twenty-six numbers and ceased publication with the October 22 issue. Boinod and Gaillard make the statement that they will suspend publication in that issue,

> Les arrangements que les Editeurs du *Courier de l'Amérique* avaient pris la correspondance et la circulation de leur papier, ayant été contrariés pas des obstacles auxquels ils ne pouvoient s'attendre, et qu'il est inutile de détailler ici, ils se voyent forcés d'en suspendre la publication jusqu'a ce qu'ils aient levé les difficultes qui les arrêtent ... Ce contretemps une fois passé, messieurs les souscripteurs n'éprouvent plus d'interruption entre l'abonnément, et l'on tâchera de profiter en recommençant, des améliorations dont *Le Courier* est susceptible.
>
> Cerra à qui se retard ne conviendrait point, auront la bonté de venir retirer des trois mois d'abonnement dont ils ont fait l'avance.
>
> BOINOD ET GAILLARD
>
> PHILADELPHIA
> le 22 Oct. 1784

The statement is not illuminating as to cause, but as it is certain that the paper was never revived the lack of financial support was probably the real reason. Gaillard died about this time. If not before October 22, at least he was sick at that time. The only evidence at hand is the legal notice in the *Freeman's Journal* of November 24, inserted by Boinod, "The partnership of Boinod et Gaillard being lately dissolved by the demise of the latter, all those who have any demands against them are requested to bring their accounts properly attested and those who are indebted to them are desired to make immediate payment. Daniel Boinod, administrator. Philadelphia, November 24, 1784." Boinod continued his bookselling but never revived the paper.

The contents of the paper are the chief interest. Many of the items were of no particular importance and those acquainted with the other Philadelphia papers of the day would recognize immediately some of the notes. In the first issue for instance there were Hartford, Boston, Philadelphia news paragraphs, a Charleston letter, and Philadelphia prices. In Number 2 there was the usual run of foreign news, from Rome, Vienna, Paris, Hamborg, etc., and "prix courants à l'orient," May 18. August 3 issue had extracts from the Journals of Congress, some letters to La Fayette, and in the supplement of August 6 because packets have arrived from Europe there are extracts of letters from Paris, "melanges de politique et de litterature," balloons, etc. Some of this is in the *Packet* of July 27, 29, some in August 10, also in the *Freeman's Journal* of July 28, in the *Journal* of August 11, and *Gazette* for July 28 and August 11.

In general the paper consisted of news notes identical with other newspapers, especially the *Packet*, of prices current, of letters from abroad, and of occasional special articles. Some of the legislative news was included, and short notes which displayed the Constitutionalist tendency. The paper would have been nothing out of the ordinary but for the two incidents mentioned. The one, the Longchamps case, is so remarkable that it makes *Le Courier* a most notable paper. Probably reproductions of the Seville numbers will be made, so that an exact file may be had for investigators into the history, diplomacy, and politics of the period.

LE COURRIER—NEW ORLEANS, 1785–86

WILLIAM NELSON, in his *Notes toward a History of the American Newspaper*, describes a single leaf, pages 249–50, of the *Courrier du Vendredi*, No. 62, New Orleans, 4 Août, 1786. This was a small folio, about 10 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with text 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, double columns.

There is nothing improbable in this statement, but it is, in the opinion of William Beer, the librarian of the Howard Memorial Library at New Orleans, "entirely imaginary." When Mr. Beer undertook to find out more about the paper, Mr. Nelson reported that he had lost the memoranda upon which his statement was based.

TWO OR THREE BOSTON PAPERS

BY GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

"COURIER DE BOSTON," 1789

THE second French paper in what is now the United States was a legitimate newspaper enterprise, rather than the organ of a group of foreigners. It did not succeed, but the idea behind it was a sound one, which might have achieved its end with a little more capital and courage, and at another time than the beginning of the French Revolution.

The appearance of the first number on Thursday, April 23, 1789, was heralded by a prospectus, of which no copy is known to have survived, but which was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel* for January 3, and afterward in the other Boston contemporaries. It reads:

> Proposals for publishing a French periodical paper, under the title of—COURIER DE BOSTON: the prospectus of which is to be had at Mr. Russell's Printing-Office.
>
> TO THE PUBLICK
>
> The advantages which must accrue to the United States from a political publication, calculated to inform foreigners, and above all, merchants, in their own language, of the natural, moral, and political resources of this country, are obviously of so much importance, and must prove so beneficial to the Commerce of America, that I shall ever view the attempt alone (should it fail of success) as one of the most happy, and most favorable circumstances that could recommend me to the citizens of the United States.

To be the Interpreter, the Organ of every citizen—of every husbandman; to convey adequate ideas of the MAJESTY OF CONGRESS to nations that scarcely know that there is one existing: to shew them the influence of those energetick and eloquent speeches, which have on so many occasions rescued the country from the snares of its secret, but powerful enemies—those speeches, dictated by patriotism, and to which Liberty alone would give birth; in a word, to convince them, from the great number of respectable characters who have acted on the theatre of America so distinguished a part in the late revolution, that "WHERE LIBERTY DWELLS GREAT MEN ARE NOT WANTING;"—to afford a vehicle to merchants (that numerous and wealthy part of the community, whose individual interest is so immediately connected with that of the people;) to be instrumental in removing commercial obstacles; to contribute to its extension; to witness its success; to communicate the sentiments, the wishes of a free, happy nation, are objects, to which, I confess, I have the rashness to extend my ambition. Such are the principles upon which the COURIER DE BOSTON is offered to the patronage of the Americans; such are the considerations which will give it birth. Considerations, which if duly examined and attended to, will leave no doubt of success in a country, where *purity of intention* has often been found sufficient to ensure it.

The ultimate objects of this undertaking are of such magnitude —the benefits thence arising so evident—(and I trust it will appear so to every merchant and person, who is ever so little acquainted with the powers to which trade at large is subjected) that it is not unreasonable to suppose, that Congress, when regularly organized under the new Constitution, will take measures to propagate true ideas of the situation of this country, through Europe, by means of periodical publications.

What American—what person acquainted with this country, its laws, customs, habits, &c. has not been shocked at the descriptions given of America in foreign parts, by the most learned men—the best intentioned persons—and the greatest friends of America—

such as RAYNAL, BUFFON, and many others. If then so enlightened—so famous characters, have mistaken their objects—have grasped at shadows—and have been the means of erroneous inductions, prejudicial to the United States, in their philosophical researches, which had no other object than the improvement of knowledge; how miserable will be the notions of French merchants, who are not so well informed, and who perhaps, in more unpropitious times, have had unfavorable proofs respecting the produce, trade and integrity of the United States? How much more pernicious will it prove to the interests of this country? Finally —what could rectify those errors better than a WEEKLY PUBLICATION, which a thousand circumstances, sometimes, even of the most trifling nature, and satiety itself, will induce to read constantly?

The other local recommendations to this establishment, such as the *stimulus* to learning French, the easy, gradual and effectual assistance it would give to the beginners, &c. though weighty and essential, are too trivial, when compared to those GREAT OBJECTS, to be enlarged upon here.

I am well aware, that the undertaking of a paper, in a language, which is not yet prevalent in America, is arduous, and will be attended with difficulties, to which I have little else to oppose than perseverance: but as I have reason to think that the number of foreign subscribers from Canada, the West-Indies, and Europe, will by far exceed those of America, when it is once established, I am determined to begin the publication as soon as the number of subscribers will appear sufficient to defray the most necessary expenses.

P. J. G. DE NANCREDE

Subscriptions are received by Mr. B. RUSSEL, Printer,—by Mr. GUILD, at the Boston Book-Store—by Mr. BOYLE, Bookseller—and by Mr. JAMES WHITE, in Court-Street.

Benjamin Russell, whose printing office was near the State House, seems to have been the prospective editor's

best friend among the local newspaper publishers. He assisted the venture by giving this prospectus, as well as subsequent communications concerning it, a place at the head of the first column on the first page. Subscribers apparently did not put down their names as rapidly as the editor would have liked, and on February 4 the *Centinel* printed a letter from "A Merchant" urging the public to support the French paper.

Of the PROPRIETY *of the* COURIER DE BOSTON

MR. RUSSELL

I am extremely well pleased with Mr. DE NANCREDE'S project of publishing a *French periodical paper* in this town. It is a project that merits the encouragement and patronage of the citizens of America. The national advantages that will be consequent upon such a publication, are judiciously pointed out by the intended Editor of this work. France and America, although politically allied, are yet *strangers to each other*—there are still remaining among us, certain traces of old, local prejudices, which were sown by the politicks of Great Britain. They have been wearing out, it is true, since our separation from that country, but they are not totally effaced. We draw our articles of *French intelligence* from the English papers—this indirect way of acquiring information, cannot be attended with much satisfaction. A *French* cordial cannot receive any additional spirit by passing through a *British* alembick.

As we are thus subjected to imposition and false information, by receiving advices of French affairs in a suspicious vehicle, we now have an opportunity of seeing a work published weekly in this town, in which the Editor drawing this stream of knowledge immediately from the *source* of French politicks, will present us with the *truth* in its proper channel and dam out the usual torrent of English *lies*.

That a publication, printed *here* in the French language, by a gentleman of undisputed abilities, and equally a friend to the allied nations, should be scattered through the West-India Islands, and through France, is evidently for the advantage of America. By this method will the merchants and others of those ports be informed of the state of the markets here, the prices current, and the plenty of our crops—and thus will the mercantile interest of the United States be promoted.

The *rage* for *belittleing* everything American among the French philosophers, though nearly allayed by Mr. Jefferson, will be totally extinguished by a *present tense* journal of the kind now proposed. I could mention other advantages which would be the indubitable result of the establishment of the *Courier de Boston;* but I am called away—so no more at present.

Sir, your humble servant,

A Boston Merchant

This was followed on February 11 by a further explanatory announcement by the editor, which throws some light on his character and temperament.

The Editor *of the* Courier de Boston *to the* Publick

Some apology is, perhaps, necessary for again troubling the publick upon a subject they have so readily patronized:—The Editor of the *Courier de Boston* shall rest for one on the undertaking itself—and be short.

The number of subscribers already obtained, though insufficient, gives him the most flattering hopes, that he shall be able to carry it on; but it cannot be done immediately, for several reasons, of which he wishes to inform the gentlemen who have become subscribers.

1st. The correspondence he has established in Europe, requires some time for its operation.

2dly. A society having been established last year in Paris, by the name of the *Gallo-American Society*, the objects of which are to promote the advantages of the two countries, he has embraced this source of information with so much the more readiness, as some of its members have invited him to undertake this paper, assuring him that every information, which may have for its object the advantages of the two countries—the friendship of its inhabitants—and the improvement of everything that is useful, and which may tend to remove old prejudices, shall be afforded him—some answers are expected shortly.

3dly. This publication will be attended with peculiar expenses, not obvious to every person; the typographical part is an arduous task—which very few printers can undertake, unless armed with a stock of industry, patience and attention.

The subscription, full and encouraging as it is, is yet far from being adequate; it is true, that if every capital town in the United States furnished as many subscribers as Boston, he should soon be enabled to make a beginning, but it cannot be expected to take place all at once. The encouragement he has been honoured with in this town, is as astonishing as it is flattering to him; it will ever be his ambition to justify it.

Many more gentlemen in this town will become subscribers, in time, who have not had opportunity to put down their names yet.

The Editor might, indeed, break in upon the publick silence—and several persons have advised him to do it by private solicitations; but he declares, from a little trial, it is a step he cannot descend to.

First,—because it is a disgrace to a man, who is conscious he aims to do good, to solicit in a free country. He would not be indebted to civility for what belongs to the utility of the thing itself. Besides, to solicit those persons who have been civil to him, is ungrateful—it is a violation of the gratitude hospitality merits. He must be asked first. He will not offend them, by supposing they cannot discern and encourage what deserves to be

so; it would be shewing a doubt of the goodness of the project—and abusing himself in abusing others.

Nor would he have this system construed into a misguided pride. It is the result of the study of the people among whom he lives, and if he judged right, to solicit is to forfeit their esteem. The republican who subscribes for any establishment, if ever so useful, will be free in doing it—but he is no longer so, if you urge—his generosity will yield to importunities but in granting your request, he withdraws his esteem from you, and that esteem is the first—is the principal object of the Editor.

The difficulties he has to encounter are much more numerous than would be imagined by those who consider the project only, and not the *projector*. Although that blind antipathy against the French is almost done away among the enlightened class, yet there are still some prejudices left against a nation, which they were taught to believe, were men different from others. For instance, they will not grant the French any solidity of judgment, or principle—this prejudice will vanish away, when the French nation will be better known among the Americans, it is true; but in the meantime the Frenchman, who, actuated by pure motives, undertakes anything useful, has the shocks of opinion to encounter.

The editor's "3dly" doubtless refers to the necessity of securing for printing in French several type faces, accented letters, which are rarely used in English. It is quite likely that he found difficulty in persuading a Boston printer to go to the cost of buying the requisite type, the use of which, once it came to be mixed with the rest of the fonts in regular use, would have been a cause of constant irritation and expense. This may explain why the printer who undertook to bring out the *Courier* was not Nancrede's friend Russell, but Samuel Hall, a well-

established bookseller on Cornhill, who was not at the time issuing a newspaper.

These preliminaries were supplemented by an inaugural statement which occupies the first two pages of the initial number. It is clear that the editor realized that he must expect to get most of his support from those Bostonians who felt that it would be rather entertaining, as well as exceedingly respectable, to take in a weekly French paper. The editor avows his intention of supplying the kind of timely reading matter that was desired by those who disliked the bitter partisanship and what then passed as scurrilous and vulgar personalities and scandals, which enlivened the local press.

An examination of the file, copies of which are preserved in most of the Boston libraries, shows that Nancrede did not lose sight of the original purpose to reach the closely allied local public, which might under normal conditions have been relied on to provide a permanent financial backing. This was the group of merchants in Boston, as well as in the other continental shipping ports, who were engaged in commerce with France or the French possessions, as well as their agents and correspondents in Europe and the West Indies. For these patrons the last page of each of the earlier issues was given up to a "Price Current." In preparing this, the editor seems to have been uncertain whether to give the Boston prices, for readers overseas, or foreign quotations, when these were to be had, for local readers. In either case, there were certain to be complications in those days of simpler

commercial customs, and the Price Current feature gave place to exciting news from Paris, which began not only to usurp more of the attention of those with an interest in France, but to introduce increasingly serious complications into the affairs of those engaged in foreign commerce. The treatment of this news, as it could be gathered from the London, Dutch, or French papers, reinforced or more frequently confused by the gossipy interpretations offered by the shipping masters and supercargoes in whose care the papers reached America, constitutes perhaps the most significant historical value of the *Courier*. The editor was a reasonably well-informed Frenchman, and he frequently commented on the items, calling attention repeatedly to the improbability of much that appeared in the English press, as well as to its obvious purpose as what is now called propaganda.

Although foreign affairs show a tendency to absorb more and more space, foreign readers received a full digest of the most important news from the embryonic United States. The editor began bravely by translating largely from the proceedings of Congress, but in Number 15 he apologizes for the omission of several days' debate, with the succinct statement that they were passed in "long debates on the tariff bill," and the mere announcement that the all-important question was finally settled, after a tie vote, by the vice-president's decision.

The editor was teacher of French at Harvard College from 1787 to 1800. The paper contains a good account of the Harvard commencement, on July 15, and, a month

earlier, a three-column article on the university. The last of these columns is occupied with observations on the fact that there is no provision for the teaching of French at Harvard, from which it may be inferred that the young instructor had been interviewing the president, and had received assurances from him that this was a subject which the corporation would like to have taught, but that there were no funds available with which to pay for the instruction—neither the first nor the last interview of this general purport. The article closes:

> O combien seroit béni le François riche, le François vertueux qui appliqueroit ses bienfaits à la fondation d'un établissement aussi utile, aussi honorable, je dis plus, aussi patriotique! combien de voix chanteroient ses louanges! Helas! si les gens riches savoient le bien qu'ils pourroient faire, ils ne se ruineroient pas en équipages et en vaines poursuites! L'Université de Cambridge offre, à une belle âme, une si belle occasion de se montrer.

One other local institution was the subject of the editor's especial interest—the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He gave ample accounts of its seances, the titles of its papers, and of donations made to its library. There can be little doubt that the members of the Academy, and the ladies of their families, were among the most faithful readers of the publication.

The editor's deepest patriotic sentiments found a chance to express themselves when, just as he was going to press on September 3, the French fleet was reported as arriving in Boston harbor. He seized a half-column to express the joy of the town at the visit from these repre-

sentatives of the nation to which the Americans owed their liberty, and whose help could never be forgotten. Unluckily, the sailors on the vessels in the harbor did not share the editor's feelings, and had apparently given the incoming visitors anything but a friendly welcome, so that a part of the limited space had to be given up to an attempt to apologize for their "boufarderies." The official welcome, according to this reporter, left nothing to desire in cordiality, or conviviality, and for the remainder of the month that the fleet spent at Boston, each issue of the *Courier* contained accounts of the reciprocal receptions and other festivities.

It is to be hoped that the editor and teacher was invited to these numerous functions, for his newspaper career was drawing to its end. The issue for October 15 announced that as the full term of six months, for which subscriptions had been accepted, was completed, the *Courier* would suspend. It had been for him, as he explains, a tragic half-year. The work of editing the paper, doing all the work alone, and as each issue abundantly proves, thoroughly conscientiously, had seriously encroached upon the time and strength which were needed by the other occupations which were his livelihood. To make matters worse, his good nature and worldly unwisdom had twice brought him serious losses. The *Courier* for June 4 contained a pathetic and agitated offer of a reward of $50 for the arrest of a St. Domingo refugee, one Lambert, who had made off with $400, as well as with five different costumes, the latter evidencing a foresight

which rendered it hard to describe the probable appearance of the fugitive. "La personne qui a été ainsi dépouillé se repos sur la vigilance de MM. les François et autres, pour découvrir ce voleur, avec d'autant plus de raison qu'elle ne s'est exposée à cette perte qu'en lui tendant les secours de l'hospitalité—il était François—il était pauvre, il était dans un pays étranger, elle a cru devoir l'assister." In his valedictory, the editor takes this loss to himself, the total theft being figured as $800.

Faith in human nature was still further strained by the theft of over $120 by a negress whom the editor had taken to board, to oblige her owner, pending a proposed sale. The negress was caught and jailed, but apparently the money was not recovered. To complete the poor editor's discouragement, it turned out that the slave's owner not only knew that she was an inveterate thief, but also refused to pay the $50 which had been agreed upon as the price of keeping her.

The valedictory closes with the one purely personal touch of the whole half-year: "Ajoutez à ces fatalités, une figure peu prévenante, timide, et que l'on peut crois sauvage, une constitution délicate, quoique robuste en apparence, minée par les chagrins et les traverses qu'il a essuyés dans tout ce qu'il a entrepris; ces circonstances sont peu propres à destruire les légeres impressions qu'une infinité de defauts extérieurs et quelques ennemis s'efforcent d'accrediter contre lui." This ends page 207, next to the last, except for three lines, stating that the paper

may be revived in the spring, providing 400 subscribers send in their names.

The prospectus for the projected revival fills the final page.

The twenty-six numbers of the *Courier de Boston* each consisted of eight double-columned pages, numbered consecutively 1 to 208. There are no bibliographical peculiarities. The heading reads:

COURIER DE BOSTON,

AFFICHES, ANNONCES, ET AVIS.

L'Utilité des deux Mondes.

Prix, 5 Pence.] De Jeudi, 23 Avril, 1789. [No. 1.

The imprint at the foot of the last page of each issue reads:

A BOSTON, de l'Imprimerie de SAMUEL HALL, Libraire, dans le *Cornhill*, No. 53, où l'on peut se procurer chaque Numéro. On souscrit, pour le Courier de Boston, chez M. HALL; à *Salem*, chez MM. DABNEY et CUSHING; á *New-York*, chez M. THOMAS GREENLEAF, et JOHN FENNO; á *Philadelphie*, chez M. MATHEW CAREY; et chez les principaux Imprimeurs des Etats-Unis. L'Editeur se fera un plaisir, et même un devoir, de recevoir et de traduire tous les morceaux utiles qu'on voudroit lui communiquer dans tous les genres, sur-tout sur le commerce.

In the closing issue this is omitted, as there was room for only a single line, with Hall's name and address. There is nothing to prove that Hall assumed any responsibility for the publication, but everything about it suggests a business venture rather than a mere amateur's essay in journalism. Hall had returned to Boston from Salem in 1785, bringing with him the *Salem Gazette*, then four

years old. As the *Massachusetts Gazette*, at first weekly and after August 22, 1786, as a semi-weekly, Hall continued this paper until September, 1787, when he relinquished it to J. W. Allen, who had become his partner three months previously. The paper died a year later.

Two or three casual references in the earlier issues of the *Courier* suggest another name that may have been associated, at least in the capacity of friendly adviser, in its establishment. These references would not have attracted attention, except for the known connection with the *Courier Politique* of 1792 of the young John Quincy Adams. Adams graduated from Harvard in 1787, the year Nancrede began to teach there. In the first issue of the *Courier de Boston*, the column of local news is largely given up to the notification of John Adams of his election as vice-president, his subsequent departure for the seat of government, by way of Cambridge, and an expression of the esteem in which he was held. In the second issue, a column on the last page is devoted to an anecdote, headed "Trait d'Energie, de Fermeté du Vice-President des E.U."

The ensuing notes on the contents of the successive issues will give some idea of the character of the *Courier*, and of its editor. Number 1 opens with an appeal for support, prefaced by a reminder of the difficulties which the editor faced, and some remarks on rival newspapers. "Notre Courier ne pourra jamais entrer dans la classe des papiers-nouvelles que nous avons décrits, premièrement, parce que ses abonnés doivent être des négocians

des étrangers, des personnes éclairées, à qui la Chronique scandaleuse qui fait l'ornement des papiers de Boston, n'offriroit que peu d'intérêt." He recognized, however, that things might be worse, for a footnote observes: "Prenons Boston, par exemple, ou il se publie moins de gazettes qu'en aucune capitale des E. U. Il y paroit chaque semaine six feuilles, dont l'abonnement monte, à peu-pres, à 7 piastres par an; toutes les personnes comme il faut les prennent toutes; il est vrai que l'abonnement ne se paye pas fort régulièrement." Another footnote extends a warm tribute to the Worcester printer, Isaiah Thomas, for printing works like the Roman history of the Abbé Millot, which appeal to the serious reading public. The London news contains the full text of the prayer for the restoration of the king's health. The French column is headed by an editorial note suggesting that the assembling of the States General showed that France was about to go through the same "fermentation" which the Americans had experienced during the preceding two years of discussion over the new constitution. The Baltimore news points out that "Philadelphie fait un pompeux étalage de sa bibliothéque, de l'établissement de son spectacle, etc. etc., afin d'y attirer le Congrès." An editorial comment leads to a suspicion that the editor's friends, knowing that Boston had even less chance than Baltimore, sympathized with the Maryland opinion of what congressmen were and what they ought to be. The report of the first session of the first Congress is given up largely to the list of members. The number closes, after

other items noted previously, with another brief appeal for subscribers, printed in English as well as French.

The second issue begins with French news, to which an editorial note is added, stating that official documents ought to be considered more important than such news as had arrived from England, chiefly concerning the state of the king's health. Another note, evidently addressed to the hoped-for foreign readers, points out that as soon as the French packet-boat service is re-established, the *Courier* ought to have a wide circulation.

In the third number the editor complains that there are so many things written about the doings of Congress, that by the time he could get them translated, they are out of date. Number 4 contains Washington's Inaugural Address, the French version in a parallel column beside the English, one of the few instances where the paper contains English text. The only other important document in the two languages was the proposed amendments to the Constitution, which appeared in Number 22.

A letter from Cambridge, dated 10 Mai, 1789, occupies a page in Number 5; it gave the writer an opportunity to express in French his opinions on the all-important subject of American commerce, which had virtually ceased while everyone in Boston was waiting to learn what Congress would do with the Revenue Bill. A note adds that Congressional Debates had arrived, too late to be translated for this issue, but that the other papers which had only to copy them, were not printing them this week.

The leading article in Number 7 is a reprint of advice to those who wish to emigrate to America. There is a

letter from "Amor Patriae" of Portsmouth, who had become excited over discovering that a cargo of turpentine, recently arrived from Nantes, had originally been shipped from Boston, and that this was not an unusual result of speculative commerce. "Civis" writes in Number 8, in defense of the French, the editor explaining that there are thousands who are prepared to do likewise, in reply to those who are satellites of the English.

In Number 9 the subscribers are reminded that payment of half the subscription price of sixteen shillings and eight pence is due, the prospectus having specified that no money would be expected until the paper had demonstrated its ability to live beyond the first eight issues, a vitality at which the editor expresses considerable gratification, as reassuring his hopes for the future. In the same issue a correspondent asks to have everything printed in both languages, as an aid to learners. This letter served as a text for the editor's exposition of the subject of teaching the foreign language, which is continued in the following number.

The speculators in the public funds are the subject of a leader in Number 11, in which two other fresh subjects make their appearance, the war with the Creek Indians and the importance of the whale fisheries.

In Number 12 the editor, having little to report from Congress or the French assembly, is obliged to be more interesting to his posthumous readers. He starts off with Russian news; gives an account of the award of certain prizes for agriculture in Glasgow, from which he derives a lesson for Americans; remarks that he does not

guarantee an article because he has taken it from an English paper; reports at large the trial at Charleston of a man who had gouged out the eye of the plaintiff in the suit for damages; gives the list of Fourth of July toasts; and fills up his space with anecdotes about Rhode Islanders and Quakers. He can hardly have foreseen that in the ensuing issue he would have a more timely reference to another member of this religious body, who took occasion to interrupt the Harvard commencement exercises by announcing from the gallery that "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Number 14 contains reflections on the news that 140, almost the only survivors of 2,000 Americans who had emigrated to Carthagena on the Spanish Main, had returned to Philadelphia.

The first quarter-year was completed with Number 15, and the editor takes occasion to renew his appeal for support, and his statement of difficulties, in English as well as French. On another page, he apologizes for the omission of various matters of importance or interest, with the sage reflection that by delaying it is often easier to distinguish facts from partisan claims.

Persons who were seeking opportunities for investment in western lands were given, in Number 17, the reports of Dr. Soloman Drown, of Providence, and of Colonel Shrieve, of New Jersey, who had visited the Ohio Valley. A footnote to one paragraph adds: "Nous apprenons, au moment où nous allons à la presse, que ces bruits ont été repandus par le Colonel Shrieve et le Dr. D. qui n'ayant pas reçu tout l'encouragement qu'ils s'étoient

promis de leur voyage, se sont promis de décrier le pays à leur retour."

There is evidence in Number 19 that the effort to establish connections in the ports reached by Boston shipping had met with an initial success, in the announcement that M. J. Cormerais de Lorme would receive subscriptions in Martinique. Number 21 contains the only advertisement, of a furnished room to rent, which appeared in the paper, except the reward for the apprehension of a thief, previously mentioned. In Number 23 there is an appeal to New York subscribers to pay what they owe, with a supplementary note offering to supply numbers that had failed of delivery, which suggests one of the common excuses offered by the delinquents. Doubtless this foreshadows the approaching demise of the publication.

The summer of 1789 was not a cheerful time for an amateur journalist who was bravely trying to maintain his loyalty to his native France in a foreign country, among people who were of English blood. After repeated notes on the persistent rumor that the Dauphin was dead, to the effect that these reports all came from tainted English sources, he inserted a single line, in italics, at the bottom of a column, "Tout le monde est affligé de la mort de Mgr. le Dauphin." In Number 23, for September 24, which contained the account of a fête on the French flagship in Boston harbor, he had to print the account of the storming of the Bastille. He put the best face he could on the rest of the news from France in this number, in its heading: "Révolte, Massacre, Con-

fusion, Tranquillité." As the fleet had sailed a full month before the fateful fourteenth of July, the information must have come in all likelihood from English sources, so that the labor of translation was added to his troubles. In Number 25, under the Brussels head, is news that the city was crowded with fugitives; the editor adds: "Il est en effet bien affreux de ne règner que par l'amour, & d'être adoré par son peuple, au lieu d'être un objet de terreur pour eux. C'est à la lettre l'état ou se trouve aujourd'hui le Roi de France." To fill a column on the next page, he inserted an extract from Rousseau, on "Pouvoir à accorder à un Souverain." The remainder of this issue, and most of the next, the last one, was occupied with reports of what was happening in France, the horror of which must have served to mitigate the discouragement with which the editor saw his undertaking come to an end.

"COURIER DE L'UNIVERS," 1792

There is no evidence that the editor of the *Courier de Boston* received the necessary encouragement to revive his paper in the spring of 1790. Two and a half years later, however, another venture in this field was undertaken. Boston trading vessels had returned from the West Indies, chiefly from San Domingo, with their full share of the refugees who fled from the earlier outbreaks in the French islands. One of these islanders issued a prospectus, of which an English version appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* for Wednesday, November 21, 1792, announcing that *Le Courier Politique de l'Univers* would

appear on Monday, December 10, following. Each number was to consist of four pages in quarto, and the price was to be two dollars for six months, or three dollars for places more than fifty miles from Boston.

No copy of this paper is located in Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers," in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1915. The story of its brief career has been reconstructed by Percival Merritt, in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for April, 1921, largely from the announcements of the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, whose editor, Benjamin Russell, was one of the two persons authorized to receive subscriptions in that city. The other was the printer, Joseph Bumstead on Union Street, at whose shop it is safe to infer that the paper was printed.

The original proposal was for a single fold of four quarto pages, but in response to suggestions made before the translation appeared in the *Centinel*, "a wish to conciliate the favour of the publick, induced the Editor to seek for some American assistance." He therefore undertook to provide an English as well as a French version of its contents, in corresponding columns, and to give six or eight pages instead of four. The English translation was made by John Quincy Adams, who wrote to his father on December 16, in a letter printed in his *Writings*, that the paper was "to contain among other things a summary account of the French Revolution . . . . very handsomely written by one of the aristocratic party now here, having been driven from the Island of St. Domingo by the triumphant faction there. He has aimed at

impartiality as much as he could; but if you read the narrative you will find he is very bitter against the Duke of Orleans to whom he attributes all the calamities of his country. . . . I imagine the paper itself will not be continued long after that publication is finished." The earlier refugees from the island were able to save such of their property as could be most easily converted into money, and this hint suggests where the funds came from to pay the printer's bills. A note by the editor of John Quincy Adams' *Writings*, Worthington C. Ford, suggests that the writer of the "Summary" may have been M. d'Hauteval.

The editor of the *Courier de l'Univers* was the Abbé Louis de Rousselet, the second pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross in Boston.

The early demise of the paper is explained in an "Advertisement" in the *Centinel* for January 19, 1793:

> M. Rousselet, Editor of the Courier Politique de l'Univers, being suddenly called to the Island of Guadeloupe . . . . has the honour to testify his regret to the subscribers to his paper, that he is unable to complete the task he has undertaken. Professionally engaged in support of the religion of which he is a minister, he makes this sacrifice to his duty, of an undertaking, the object of which was to promote the triumph of truth. He thanks the subscribers for the encouragement, with which they have favoured him: requests their acceptance of the numbers which they have received, and informs those of them to whom he has given receipts that by calling in the course of the next week, at Mr. Joseph Bumstead's printing office in Union-Street, their Subscription money shall be returned to them.

If, as this notice implies, the last issue of the paper was that of Monday, January 14, there were in all only six numbers.

The Abbé returned to Guadeloupe, where he was guillotined in the autumn of 1794, after the French Revolutionary troops under Victor Hugues had recaptured the island from the British.

"COURIER DES DEUX MONDES," BOSTON, 1794?

All that is known of this paper, which quite likely never got any farther, is the

PROSPECTUS
DU COURIER DES DEUX MONDES

Vitam impendere vero.

On se propose de publier une Gazette françoise. L'usage de cette langue se multipliant tous les jours, on a pensé qu'on ne contribueroit pas peu à l'influence qu'elle acquise en y ajoutant le véhicule des nouvelles politiques. Tout a contribué, depuis le siècle de Louis quatorze à répandre cette langue dans les deux Mondes. La Gloire littéraire de la Nation Françoise, Les persecutions religieuses qui chassérent une population industrieuse, enfin la Révolution actuelle, en jettant sur le continent Américain un peuple nombreux, doivent propager l'étude de cette langue. Elle fera tous les jours de nouveaux progrès; et si dans les siècles de Barbarie la langue Latin fit une partie essentielle de l'éducation publique, la langue Françoise ... survivra au peuple François comme le Latin et le Grec ont survécu à l'Empire de Rome et d'Athènes.

Cette Gazette paroitra sous le titre de *Courier des deux Mondes*. Le Rédacteur tachera d'intéresser, en présentant à ces lecteurs le tableau fidelle des transactions qui se passent en Europe, et qui attirent l'attention de tous ceux qui connoissent l'influence qu'a sur le reste du globe, cette partie du Monde ... les Etats-unis vont prendre leur place parmi les puissances de la terre. Une confédération puissante s'est formée au de là du terrein qu'ils occupent, et les Indiens égorgent dans ses foyers le paisible Cultivateur. Un peuple de pirates des bords de la Barbarie ménace son Commerce,

et l'habitant des Etats-unis, qui sans armée, sans Marine, vouloit vivre sur terre comme sur mer l'ami de tous les peuples, se voit forcé d'établir des impôts pour avoir une armée. ... Une grande fermentation travaille le Globe. ...

Une Gazette est le miroir fidelle des Evénemens contemporains; ... c'est là qu'on voit les progrès de l'Agriculture, du Commerce, de la Législation, qui suivent ceux de la civilisation. On tachera d'orner cette Gazette du tableau Statistique des différens états. ... mais ce travail démande des coopérateurs, une correspondance étendue. Nous invitons les hommes instruits, dans tous les Etats-Unis, à nous fournir des détails, sur l'état actuel de leur Agriculture, sur les améliorations et les augmentations dont elle est susceptible, sur la quantité et la qualité des Bestiaux qui s'y trouvent, sur les mines et les minières, et sur le parti qu'on en tire ou qu'on en peut tirer; sur les pêcheries, les nombre d'hommes, de Navires qui y sont employés, et l'utilité dont elles sont à cette contrée. ...

On désireroit également de savoir le prix du travail, dans les différentes provinces, et les variations que la main-d'œuvre éprouve dans les différentes parties des mêmes états: car c'est là qu'est le secrèt de la capacité des Etats pour devenir Manufacturiers. ...

La situation de Boston relativement à l'Europe lui donne avec Philadelphie et Newyork l'avantage de recevoir les prémières nouvelles qui nous viennent de cette partie.

On donnera une Gazette par semaine. Chaque Gazette contiendra 4 pages, du même format et du même caractère que le présent prospectus. Le prix de la Gazette sera d'une gourde par trimestre, franc deport pour tous les Etats-unis.

On souscrit à Boston, chez *J. Nancrede, Adams & Larkin, B. Russel;* à Newyork, chez *N. Webster Esq;* a Philadelphie chez *M. Carey;* à Baltimore, chez *T. Edwards;* à Norfolk, chez *M. Gouin;* à Salem, chez *M. Cushing;* à New-bury port, chez *M. Mycall;* à Portsmouth, chez *M. Charles Pierce.*

à Savannah, chez *M. T. Johnson;* a Charlestown, chez *M. Timothy.*

L'abonnement se payera d'avance.

Comme il est nécessaire que l'éditeur retire ses déboursés, il commencera à donner cours à cette Gazette dés-qu'il aura 200 abonnés. Le tems lui apprendra ce qu'il doit penser de son travail, et le public, juste appréciateur de ses efforts, les récompensera sans doute un jour.

This proposal occupies both sides of a large quarto sheet, printed in two columns. The surviving copy is preserved at the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, and was addressed, in what is probably Nancrede's own hand, to "E. Aug. Holyoke, M.D., Salem." It is listed as Number 2591, in Worthington C. Ford's *Massachusetts Broadsides*, under the year 1790. The references in the text, as quoted above, suggest a later date. No statement concerning it has been found in Benjamin Russell's Boston *Columbian Centinel*, which gave much space to news of French interest, even printing a few advertisements in that language. The exact date is probably fixed by an advertisement found by Miss Louise M. Taylor, librarian of the Essex Institute, in the *Salem Gazette* for February 25, 1794, in which the publisher, W. Carleton, asks for subscribers to "A weekly paper, in the French language, to be published in Boston."

It reflects the foreign interest in American investments that explains *Le Niveau*, of 1794–95, described on a later page, and the half-scientific, half-philosophical characteristics of much that appeared in other contemporary publications. The fact that much less than half of what the would-be editor wrote seems to be worth reprinting, perhaps hints at a reason why his undertaking did not receive the desired support—if it did not.

FRENCH NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1790 TO 1800

BY GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

THERE is one aspect of the War of the American Revolution which, although it is mentioned, has not, so far as I happen to have noticed, been emphasized in any of the books about that war with what seems to me adequate force. This is a point that affected the whole atmosphere of opinion surrounding everybody at the time of the conflict. It is that at that time the American continental colonies were regarded as, and in fact were, the poor relations of the vastly more important island colonies of the West Indies. This needs to be kept in mind all the time by anyone who tries to understand the attitude of the British public, the responsible officials, and the whole European world toward a conflict which has become enormously significant to posterity, but which at the time seemed to be one of those irritating minor rebellions that distract attention from the main course of events during the entire range of British history.

The last third of the eighteenth century was a time of great prosperity to Europe as a whole; and to all who shared in the increasingly wide distribution of wealth the West Indies represented the source of two fundamental luxuries—sugar and coffee. The attitude toward the islands can be gathered from a single episode, when

someone, probably as a *ballon d'essai*, suggested that England might swap Canada for one of the smaller French islands. The French press set up a joyous howl at the utter absurdity of the proposition. There were men of philosophic temperament and historical vision, who pointed out the vast possibilities of future wealth from the certain growth and expansion of the continental colonies, but no responsible statesman would have considered the exchange of one of his most certain sources of present revenue for an undeveloped gold mine.

In the West Indies, the colony which easily led all others was French San Domingo. It had had its stormy beginnings, and its good and bad fortune during the era of buccaneering, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it had become a well-developed plantation, with traditions of administration which enabled it to take full advantage of the period of prosperity which began with the ending of the Seven Years' War. The American Revolution, with its quasi-contraband trade with the English colonial rebels, brought increased activity and swollen profits to the merchants of the French island. When that war was ended, the whole scale of European prosperity had increased to a point where the demand for West Indian goods was sufficient to counterbalance any loss occasioned by the return to normal conditions for the continental American trade.

In 1789 French San Domingo supported somewhere from 28,000 to 35,000 white citizens on the island, and at least as many more relatives and absentee owners of its

plantations dwelling in France. The average affluence of these San Domingans, even after the government and its officials had mulcted them by taxes and graft at rates that challenge credence, was very great. Their wealth came from what was undoubtedly the most highly organized and most efficient system of negro labor that has ever been developed. The estimates of the number of slaves on the island run up to 500,000—the existence of a head tax on slaves rendering all official figures absurdly small. Between these two classes were a considerable number of free blacks and some 25,000 "people of color," as they came to be called during the ensuing decade—chiefly the offspring of slave mothers, freed by the father.

During its period of greatest prosperity, the San Domingo newspaper was the *Affiches Américaines*. It is, at least, the only paper listed in Eugène Hatin's *Bibliographie Historique et Critique de la Presse Périodique Française*, Paris, 1866. This was issued at Le Cap, with the title *Gazette de Saint-Domingue*, from February 1 to August 8, 1764, and as *Avis divers et petites Affiches Américaines*, from August 29 to December 25, 1765. As *Affiches Américaines*, sometimes printed at Le Cap and sometimes at Port-au-Prince, it ran until the end of December, 1790. There is a file, from January 1, 1777, to December 24, 1783, at Harvard, and a perusal of these papers is the convincing evidence of the highly developed state of the colony. There is little or nothing of a literary character, and the news of a social nature shows that the colonists made the very most of what opportunities arose,

but as a commercial newspaper, the *Affiches* stands near the head of its American contemporaries.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French General Assembly, on August 20, 1789, assured the ruination of its West Indian colonies. The preliminary agitation had made this doubly certain by dividing the colonial planters, on the island and in France, into two groups that developed a bitter hostility over the discussions of the means to counteract the efforts of the "Amis des Noirs," the society organized by the humanitarians who copied the English abolitionists. If the planters had realized from the beginning the full extent of their danger, and the imperative importance of utilizing all their efforts to save their property, it might have been possible, by breaking away from revolutionary France at once, to preserve San Domingo for the white race. As a French colony, it was doomed by the logic of the Revolution.

During the years 1790–91 the San Domingan field was more or less—for it is quite impossible to speak with very much certainty about anything that happened on the island during this fateful decade—cleared of non-combatants. It is reasonable to believe, in view of what was going on in the colony, that those who valued the safety of their women folk and children, sent them away, and that with these went a certain number of men who could see their way clear to get out of the way of trouble. The obvious place for them to go to was the nearby ports from which came the steady stream of small vessels that had, for more than half a century, carried on the trade,

until 1783 illegally, between the English continental colonies and the island. The evidence that this is what happened is the presence, in every shipping center of the infant United States, of a group of people speaking French. In each of the principal ports this group seemed to be large enough to call for the establishment of a newspaper catering specifically to its patronage. Those who left the island during this early period were able to take away with them the necessities of life to which they were accustomed, such as their personal servants, and money or credit enough to serve all their present requirements.

During the years 1790–91, the San Domingans were excited over the problem of the mulattoes. These were largely free, and a certain number of them were wealthy plantation owners, every way fitted to assume the political and social equality which the triumph of the ideas underlying the French Revolution guaranteed them. The white planters knew that this equality could not be; that no amount of white blood could overcome the black strain; that the mulatto would always be negro. The responsible colonial government officials of the moment were incapable of solving the problem which this situation presented. Every consideration of logic, of sentiment, as well as official legislative pronunciamento, was on the side of the well-educated, socially cultivated, abundantly well-to-do, fascinating, gentlemen and ladies with brownish complexions. On the other hand, the men in whose hands lay the control of colonial affairs knew that no law of humans

could overturn a fact of nature, a divinely created, if not ordained, ethnological peculiarity.

Moreover, the island whites would not have the mulattoes as their equals. The whites were not all rich planters. The island cities were like all other active shipping ports. A large numerical majority of the inhabitants were semi-permanent hangers-on of trade, useful but irresponsible. These men furnished the makings for a mob that hated the mulattoes for both economic and racial reasons, and which, when once aroused, came near to giving the lie to any opinion that the white blood was less fiendish than the black. All told, there never was a more perfect setting for trouble.

The story of what happened has been told in T. Lothrop Stoddard's *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1914, from whose narrative much that here follows is directly quoted. For two years there had been a succession of outbreaks by the mulatto caste, and retaliatory disturbances by the riff-raff whites, which the government had managed to suppress with comparative ease, so that the situation seemed still to be within the bounds of political discussion. Then came, on the last day of June, 1791, the news of the French National Assembly's Decree of May 15, that it would not interfere with the status of those who were not born of free father and mother, but that those who were of free parentage should enjoy complete political equality. Whites and colored were feverishly preparing to resist or enforce this decree, when, just before dawn on August 23,

a stream of disheveled fugitives waked Le Cap to terror and affright, while over the great North Plain a lurid glow bore ominous witness to their tidings. The negroes, whom the other two castes had lost track of in their mutual hostilities, were burning the cane fields and plantations, and these fugitives were but the scant survivors of a frightful massacre. A timely warning, which the governor did not dare give out, enabled him to take precautions just in time to save the city itself from sharing in the disaster. So complex was the situation that the governor was not certain whether the outbreak was to come from the low whites, the mulattoes, free negroes, or blacks. It is computed that within the next two months upward of 2,000 whites had been massacred, 180 sugar plantations and about 900 coffee, cotton, and indigo settlements had been destroyed, and about 1,200 families reduced from opulence to abject destitution. Upward of 10,000 of the insurgents perished by the sword or famine.

This marked the beginning of the second stage in the downfall of the colony, and of the resultant swelling of the little French groups scattered in the North American cities.

In November, the whites and mulattoes at Port-au-Prince came to blows, and on the twenty-first that town was burned. The fighting soon spread through the south and west of the colony, with brutal atrocities on both sides. In the following May came the news of the Law of April 4, 1792, giving the franchise and full political rights to all free negroes as well as to the "people of color,"

and in September a civil commission arrived from France with 6,000 troops to see that the law was obeyed. By the middle of October, there had been a further exodus of those partisans of the old régime who could escape from the island, many going under arrest to France, and others escaping on the American vessels that continued to frequent the San Domingo coast, picking up trade off shore along the coast when life in the established ports was too hot for ordinary commerce.

The commissioners consolidated the mulatto forces into an army, and for six months waged a war of virtual extermination against the whites and Royalists, who still controlled the southern portions of the island. In June, they returned to Le Cap, to cope with an army that had been sent from France in anticipation of the outbreak of the war with Spain and England. The general and his European troops were induced to go back on board their ships, and then the colored troops started to overawe the citizens of the town. Unluckily for all concerned the mulattoes did not distinguish between citizens and the sailors from the fleet, when they began killing everyone who hindered their progress through the city. The sailors and troops from France landed at dawn on June 20, and all day long fighting raged through the city, until the mulattoes were driven out. They collected in the outer range of defenses that had held back the negro hordes which had controlled the North Plain for a year.

In the city, the celebration of victory soon died in the terrible cry of "The Brigands are in the town." During

the night the commissioners, knowing that their defeat would be completed on the morrow, had offered plunder and liberty to the eager rebels of the Plain. Dense masses of howling savages poured through the fortified line and into the town. By nightfall, the French soldiery held only the water front and harbor forts. But the fall of night made little difference in the scene, for harbor and shipping lay bright as day in the glare of the burning city. Those of the white population not huddled along the quays were dying amid their burning homes or under the awful torments of the savages. Next day, General Galbaud set sail for the United States. Every ship that could keep the sea followed his flag, and soon the great fleet with its ten thousand refugees on board had dropped the empty harbor and blazing city below the horizon. Fortunately the voyage was fair, and when this tragic armada cast anchor in Chesapeake Bay, the worst sufferings of the wretched fugitives were over. Public and private benevolence vied in the work of mercy, "and even distant Massachusetts supplemented the federal grant by special legislative provision."

This was not the end of the tragic tale. Commissioner Sonthonax gave place to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and then came the yellow fever to wipe out Napoleon's veterans and prove that humanity at its worst makes but a sorry showing when it comes into contrast with the thoroughness of nature on a rampage. When all the people of color were dead, and the Frenchmen either dead or gone away, the negroes changed the name of the land back to the

aboriginal Haiti and entered upon a demonstration of the black man's capacity for self-government.

Meanwhile, the French who were domiciled in the United States gave occasion for several attempts to carry on newspapers in their own language. The earliest of these seems to have been the *Courier de l'Univers*, of which six issues apparently were printed at Boston in December—January, 1792–93, as is described on a preceding page. No copy of this paper is known to have survived, and two Philadelphia papers are equally unknown; the Charleston and New Orleans papers have barely escaped the same fate. Of two only is there anything approaching a long file covering the life of the paper: the daily *Courrier Français* of Philadelphia, 1794–98, at the New York Public Library, and the tri-weekly *Gazette Française* of New York, 1795–99, at the New York Historical Society and at Harvard.

THE PHILADELPHIA PAPERS

PHILADELPHIA, the seat of national government, became the rendezvous for those of the refugees from San Domingo who felt impelled to take an active part in the political phases of the situation created by their presence in the United States. They quickly formed two groups, dividing along the lines of personal and social, as well as political, cleavage, which had contributed so largely, at Paris and on the island, to insure the completeness of the disaster which had overtaken them. The members of these two groups indulged in all the excitements of bitterly violent animosities, which of necessity included the existence of two rival newspapers. The precarious nature of the support accorded these papers, and the fluctuating character of the questions and the personalities over which they contended, operated to shorten the lives of the papers and to reduce the chances of individual copies, much less files, being preserved.

One of these refugees had the instinct for preserving miscellaneous pamphlets. He was a lawyer on the island, where he gathered a variety of printed briefs, incidental printed circulars, and a few newspapers in the years 1785–89. Many of these are stamped "Me. G. Dubois," and some of them have an added stamp, "S. G. D. Fils Aine, 1789." At Philadelphia he accumulated a considerable number of newspapers, as well as

other local French imprints, dated in 1793, 1794, and 1795. For the next two or three years he gathered a great many papers printed at Paris. These were bound substantially in four thick volumes, which found their way over a century later into the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. From them, the following data, except as otherwise stated, have been drawn.

The collection contains two separate news-sheets printed at Philadelphia, which cannot be connected with the regular papers. They may have appeared at an interval in the spring of 1794 when the newspapers had suspended publication during a transition period. The titles are:

Rècit Succinct des Journées des 9 et 10 Novembre 1793, à Saint-Marc.
[2 pp. quarto.]

Nouvelles Récentes de Saint-Domingue. Mòle Saint Nicolas, 20 Janvier 1794.
[3 pp. quarto. On page 3 is "Extrait d'une Lettre écrite, du même lieu, par M. Derre, à son frère à Philadelphie.]

"LE RADOTEUR," 1793

The earliest of these controversial sheets to which a reference has been noted was the *Radoteur*, which apparently ran for three months in the summer of 1793. It was doubtless the precursor of the *Courrier Politique*, described below, for the single reference to it is the statement by the editor and publisher of the latter, at the end of its first quarter, that "On trouvera chez lui des Collections complettes du trimestre du *Radoteur*." The same advertisement, reading "On trouve chez *le Rédacteur* du *Courrier*

Politique ... des collections de ce Journal et de celui intitulé *le Radoteur*," appeared in the Philadelphia *American Star* of April 1, 1794.

The name, apparently an inauspicious one for longevity, was no doubt suggested by the Paris publication, which Hatin in his *Bibliographie historique et critique de la Presse Périodique Française*, page 57, notes, without having seen, as "ouvrage philosophique et morale, qui parut à la fin de 1775; un *Anti-Radoteur* ou le petit philosophe moderne, par de Peysonnel, 1786."

"COURRIER POLITIQUE," 1793–94

The *Courrier Politique de la France et des Colonies* first appeared on Thursday, September 19, 1793. The earliest copy seen is Number 14, for October 19, and the latest for the ensuing February 13. This is numbered "70," probably a mistake, as it should be Number 64, if during this period it appeared regularly, each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Each of the issues seen consists of four double-columned quarto pages.

Below the heading is the quotation, in English, from Junius, "The liberty of the press is the palladium of all civil, political, and religious rights of freemen." The issue for February 4, from which the serial number, which should be Number 60, has been cut, is the only one carrying an imprint: "Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de Parker."

Number 14 contains an editorial advertisement reading: "On voudrait trouver un traducteur Anglais, qui ne sera occupé que deux jours de la semaine. S'adresser a l'imprimerie de cette feuille, South second street, No. 61."

In Number 32, for November 30, is the warning: "*Le Redacteur* donne avis qu'on ne souscrit pour Philadelphie, que chez lui-même, seconde rue Sud, No. 181. Il prie les Receveurs des autres Villes de lui faire passer le prix des souscriptions qu'ils ont reçues, pour le mettre en état de payer les frais d'impression. On trouvera chez lui des Collections complettes du trimestre du *Radoteur* et de celui du *Courrier politique*."

The quarter ended with Number 36, for December 10, which contains the following

AVIS

Le trimestre finit aujourd'hui. Ceux qui voudront continuer leur abonnement, voudront bien s'y prendre de manière à ne pas éprouver de retard. Ceux qui doivent des arrérages sont priés de les acquitter. Si mes facultés secondaient ma bonne volonté, je me trouverais fort heureux de satisfaire la curiosité des Lecteurs, et je me contenterais du plaisir de leur être utile; mais il faut de quoi subvenir aux frais d'impression, et je suis ruiné, et plus ruiné qu'un autre, quoique je me dispense de remplir mes feuilles du recit de mes infortunes et des persecutions sans nombre que j'ai essuyées à St.-Domingue. Mon intention n'etant pas de me donner de l'importance, j'ai toujours pensé qu'il valait mieux donner des nouvelles à tout le monde et des coups de jouer aux mechans, que de me faire un merite de ce que j'ai souffert avec constance dans une cause dont je m'honorerai toujours d'avoir été le partisan.

The preceding issue contains these advertisements:

AVIS DIVERS

On trouve à l'Imprimerie de cette Feuille, les objets ci-après, savoir; le Récit historique sur les événemens qui se sont succedés dans les Camps de la Grande-Riviére, du Dondon, etc. en Anglais et en Français; le Plan du Cap après l'incendie; la Poudre d'Ailhaud.

1. MM. les Habitans des environs des Cayes, qui desiraient trouver une occasion certaine pour faire venir des fonds de leur quartier, en trouveront les moyens en s'adressant au Rédacteur de cette Feuille.

1. M. Dozol, maître de Danse, donnera des leçons en Ville, à raison d'une Guinée par mois, de douze cachets, en attendant qu'il lève une Salle; ceux qui l'honoreront de leur confiance auront lieu d'être satisfaits. Sa demeure est dans la seconde rue Sud, numéro 143.

1. M. Clarens, coiffeur, ci-devant établi au Cap, offre ses services aux Dames; il excelle sur-tout dans la coupe des cheveux.

Madame Clarens, son épouse, marchande de modes de Paris, fait et vend des chapeaux, bonnets, poufs, et mouchoirs à la créole, dans le dernier goût; elle garnit les robes, fait des habits, de bals, mantelets, pelisses, salles, manchons, et tout ce qui concerne son état. Leur demeure est troisième rue Nord, No. 19.

Number 48 contains an appeal to subscribers to send their exact addresses as well as the money.

The John Carter Brown Library has the following numbers, except the last one, which is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. No copies have been seen for the period covered by the dates in the second column; the number in parentheses is the number of issues missing.

1793	[Sept. 19?]–Oct. 17	(13)
14, Oct. 19	Oct. 22–Nov. 14	(11)
26, Nov. 16	Nov. 19–Nov. 28	(5)
32, Nov. 30	Dec. 3–7	(3)
36, Dec. 10	Dec. 12–17	(3)
40–41, Dec. 19–21	Dec. 24—Jan. 11	(9)
51, Jan. 14 1794	Jan. 16–21	(3)
55, Jan. 23	Jan. 25–Feb. 1	(4)
[60?] Feb. 4	Feb. 6–11	(3)
70, Feb. 13 [pp. 263–66]	[Uncertain]	

"JOURNAL DES RÉVOLUTIONS," 1793–(1794?)

The rival to the *Courrier Politique* was a continuation of a paper which had been printed at San Domingo, with the descriptive title *Journal des Révolutions de la partie française de St. Domingue.* The Philadelphia issues were preceded by the publication of an eight-page small octavo prospectus.

PROPOSALS
For Printing a Journal
Of the Revolutions in the French Part
OF ST. DOMINGO

EXPOSITION

No country has ever experienced more phisical, moral and political revolutions than the island of St. Domingo.—Possessed at the arrival of Christopher Columbus, in 1492, by the mildest, the most ready, and perhaps the happiest of people, Spanish avarice, superstition and cruelty soon snatched it from its native soil, ... one hundred and forty years after. . . . . The religious persecution which was then spreading over France, drove a number of Frenchmen from their country. . . . .

Their offspring, having inherited this sentiment to this day, direct their melancholy looks toward a country which seems (and I say it in the bitterness of my heart) more and more distant from them.

Those Frenchmen, at the eve of being sacrificed in France, upon the sacred altar of religion, by their fathers and brethren, intoxicated with fanaticism, sought an asylum in St. Domingo. . . .

It is partly to the colony of St. Domingo that France owes the astonishing encrease of her maritime towns, the prosperity of her trade, and her superiority in the European markets.

An exportation of more than 140 millions of colonial produce; an importation of near 200 millions in that colony, are not vain

conceits, and would appear to the coolest and most indifferent politician, to deserve, if not the most constant gratitude, at least that of equity and preservation. . . . .

By what astonishing contrast, or rather by what strange destiny does it happen, that in the very times they doubt we are Frenchmen, whether we are men, whether we are useful to our mother country, whether she owes us protection and support, they conceived against us a sentiment of jealousy and envy so excessive, that they have taken upon themselves to be knowingly unjust to us, while they are possessed with the utmost concern for the unknown brutes and savages of the torrid zone? . . . .

If what has been said, in No. 124 of the *Moniteur du Cap*, that *la France ne tient plus à nous que par grandeur d'ame ou par pitié pour nos malheurs!* is a truth in spite of this dismal forsaking from our mother country, even the conviction of this afflicting and melancholy truth, will not induce us to desire an independence which has never been the wish of any of us—an independence fancied by some few deluded people, and which they have published with a perfidious and criminal address in order that of the erroneous opinions of a few individuals, strangers to our own interests as well as affections, they might attribute the crime to all. . . . . We are Frenchmen—French republicans, and friends to true equality . . . . those enemies are the ambitious slanderers, the intriguers, and the false patriots coming from France, who obstinately leaving the carcass of St. Domingo, are still disputing with us its sad remains. . . . .

It is against them that we ought to unite.

Such is the useful end the Republican digester of this Journal has in view. . . . .

CONCLUSION DU PRESENT JOURNAL

Imprimé au Cap le 28 mars dernier

[This is evidently the editor's valedictory, in the last issue printed on the island, before his escape.]

No doubt it is incumbent upon us to announce by means of our Journals, all the interesting news of France;—for our former country

cannot be a point of indifference—we ought to keep pace with her in her sublime and astonishing revolutions—revolutions of which we have as yet borne the storms; sustained only the inevitable fatigues, ...

NEW EXPOSITION; *or ideas of the re-undertaking of this Journal*

New York, August 29, 1793

The Journal of the French Revolution at St. Domingo, has been interrupted in the said island, at the 10th number.

Its author had the courage in spite of the sword of his enemies (under whose barbarity is lately fallen all the white inhabitants of that unfortunate colony) to publish facts; to unmask plots, and to take off the veil of false patriotism, ...

Such is the mind in which this Journal has been undertaken at the Cape. Its author is of neither of the *parties*—of neither of the parties which have torn St. Domingo. . . . .

Such is the plan in which it shall be continued with an hospitable nation, which receives us so generously; which will protect our writings and our individual liberties, as long as we conduct ourselves within the bounds of good morals, and the law. . . . .

[An historical summary of English-America completes the main portion of the pamphlet, ending] May you be a long time in peace; yes, you that deserve to prosper; you that practice without restraint, and with natural disposition, those sublime virtues, which we are told were so uselessly employed at Ternate, where there was an ancient temple, in which was a pyramid with this inscription—

"Worship God,
"Observe the laws,
"Love thy neighbour."

TANGUY

[This editorial statement is followed by a letter, not translated, urging the refugees to select representatives to the National Assembly]

Aux Français de Saint-Domingue,
refugies en Amerique

New York, le 23 Aout 1793,
l'an 2 de la Republique française

Concitoyens,

Depuis deux mois nous sommes repandus & dissemines sur une terre etrangere; pretendez-vous y mourir? ...

Ce n'est pas le territoire qui fait la societe, ce sont les hommes qui la composent. Vous etes tout chasses de Saint-Domingue, vous etes tous ici: qu'importe donc le point du globe que vous habitez, les Français de Saint-Domingue n'en sont pas moins la ou vous etes. Craignez-vous encore, sur cette terre de liberte, Polverel & Sonthonax? les bas valets qu'ils ont ici, & qu'ils soudoient, vous intimideraient-ils? ou plutot l'exces du malheur aurait-il eteint chez vous le resentiment? ...

Unissez-vous donc, & reunissez-vous dans chacunes des villes de l'Amerique, où vous formez autant de sections de Français de Saint-Domingue, qui seront Français dans tout l'univers. Assemblez-vous donc sous l'autorisation des magistrats du pays où vous etes; nominez des deputes a la convention nationale.

Sans pretendre influencer votre vœu, ... c'est assez vous indiquer l'Archeveque-Thibaut, Daugy, Raborteau, & Bruley de la Marmelade, ... ils sont deja rendu en France: &, dans la position ou nous sommes, l'economie de leur voyage peut etre de quelque consideration. ...

Cet object rempli, nous devons nous occuper sans relache d'un moyen de retour a Saint-Domingue, où tout nous fait un devoir de rentrer.

Salut.

Duny, habitant du Port-de-Paix

P.S. Vous ne tarderez pas a recevoir, imprimee, la denonciation des crimes de Polverel & Sonthonax, a la nation Française, par les refugies echappes a leur fureur. Cette piece, appuyee sur des faits malheureusement trop vrais & trop connus, & generalement

adoptee, est la piere fondamentale des instructions a envoyer & a donner, tant a vos deputes d'outre-mer, qu'a ceux que vous nommerez ici.

CONDITIONS OF PUBLICATION

This Journal shall appear regularly on the Monday and Thursday of every week, in French and English.

The subscription is [half (erased)] a dollar per month.

Subscriptions are received at the following places in the United States, *viz.*

At New York, by the *Author*, No. 26, Water-street; by Mr. Pater, No. 151, Water-street, opposite Mr. Schermerhorn's, and by T. Greenleaf, printer.

At Philadelphia, by Mr. Young, bookseller.

At Baltimore, by Mr. Angell, printer.

[Sixteen other towns are listed, the names being the same as in the extract from a later issue reprinted below.]

The distribution of the Journal shall not be delayed, by waiting for subscriptions from the other states.

The author purposes to reprint his ten first numbers, which were printed at the Cape, with interesting and explanatory notes of some facts which took place at that time, with the English translation in the opposite column.

He will not begin this reimpression, the translation of which is already commenced, until he shall have received 200 subscribers. The subscription for this vol. which will be considerably bulky, shall only be 2½ dollars.

Advertisement

Having been deceived in the abilities of the person who undertook the translation of this Journal, and not knowing the merits of the translation itself (being a stranger to the language) until this impression was just going to the press, are the reasons why the English of this number is so very inelegant and corrupt. We have fortunately, however, for the subsequent numbers, employed

a better and more literary character. We beg, therefore, that our readers will exercise their indulgence; especially as the second number will contain a very essential piece of information upon the subject of our miserable fate, which ought forever to silence the party of flatterers & apologists of the civil commissaries, Polverel & Sonthonax, who even here, prodigal the money of the republic, more effectually to add the crime of calumny to the abominable murders which they have caused to be perpetrated upon the French white people.

Our next sheet will be supplied with *accents*, which are wanted in the French of this, and are now founding.

The third issue, for September 27, contained the following

Avertissement

L'auteur de ce journal avait pris l'engagement envers ses abonnés, de donner deux nos. par semaine, ce qui fait huit au mois: il a été interrompu dans ses travaux par la persécution du ministre français: cela, il le sait, ne le dégage pas envers le public, mais il a droit à son indulgence. Ne voulant pas que la distribution d'octobre éprouve le moindre rétard, désirant se mettre en mesure de donner une feuille tous les jours, le dimanche excepté, l'auteur va se hater de faire paraitre les six numéros qui doivent completter le mois de Septembre qui finit: il les distribuera sans ordre de jour indiqué, a sur et mesure qu'ils seront imprimés.

Quoique Saint-Domingue soit l'objet principal de ce journal; ses malheurs, qui sont ceux d'une politique infernale, conçue, calculée, les uns dans les cabinets des Puissances rivales de la France, les autres dans les têtes philantropiques des ennemis de la sainte humanité, dont ils ont toujours le mot sacré dans la bouche, lorsque leurs mains, armées par les furies, assassinent et incendient les malheureux colons, nous nous faisons un devoir de rapporter des nouvelles d'Europe: elles ont tant de relations et tant d'influence sur les horreurs qui se commettent à Saint-Domingue que le

rapprochement des évenemens de l'ancien Hemisphère, ne peut que jeter un jour indubitable sur les causes qui nous travaillent dans le nouveau, d'une manière aussi compliquée que barbare.

The *Journal des Révolutions* was issued on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week, the number consisting regularly of four quarto pages with two columns. Number 3 was dated Friday, September 27, 1793, and the succeeding issues that are known all have the correct dates and corresponding serial numbers. Number 3 has the page numbers (5)–8, and there is no way of telling whether these were simply those of Number 2, which the printer forgot to change, or whether some other mistake was made previously. The next issue known, Number 7, has the correct pages, (25)–28, showing that the mistake had been corrected.

Number 7 has the imprint colophon, and also another editorial note, as follows:

On s'abonne à ce journal, à Philadelphie, chez l'auteur, troisième rue Sud, No. 172, vis-à-vis le juge; et chez Parker et compagnie, imprimeurs, seconde rue sud, No. 61, où se fait la distribution.

MM. les abonnés au *Journal des Révolutions*, n'ayant reçu que 4 nos. pour le mois de septembre, sont prevenus que la première quinzaine d'octobre passera pour le complement de ce premier mois: Ils voudront bien envoyer un demi dollars pour les 15 dernieres jours du mois courant, s'ils désirent en avoir les numeros.

In Number 19, for November 4, there are two notes of interest:

Polverel fils est a New-London. Un negoçiant de San Domingue, dont le frère a été assassine au Cap, l'a poursuivi le long d'une rue pour l'assommer.

Ce journal étant principalement destiné à retraçer les malheurs du colon, les crimes des commissaires, ceux de leur agens et de leurs complices, on ne saurait trop multiplier les pièces, les plaintes, les déclarations qui doivent servir de materiaux à l'histoire de cet infortuné pays.

The supplement to Number 25, November 18, contains, in the smallest type, an advertisement of considerable interest on account of its list of names of printers who would take subscriptions to the *Journal*. Such a list ought to show where the French had settled, but unluckily this is not a safe assumption in this instance. It is more probable that the printers named are merely those who had agreed to exchange copies of their newspaper with the *Journal*.

On recevra, franc de ports, les avis, annonces, mémoires instructifs et autres ouvrages qu'on desirera faire paraitre par la voie de ce journal, surtout ce qui concerne principalement Saint-Domingue et l'interêts des Colons.

On fera connaitre les travaux politiques que se proposent de faire les Français refugiés dans cette ville.

Bureaux de souscription pour la provinces.

A New-York—Chez Soucheres Riviere Water street, No. 151.

A Hudson—Chez M. Stoddard, imprimeur.

A Poughkeepsie—Chez Powers, imprimeur.

A Albany—Chez Webster, imprimeur.

A New-Gaven—Chez Thomas et Samuel Green, Imprimeurs.

A Gartfort—Chez Gudson et Goodwin, Imprimeurs.

A Worcester—Chez Isaias Thomas, imprimeur.

A Boston—Chez Thomas et Andrews, et chez Adams Larkins, imprimeurs.

A Portsmouth—Chez Meliser [Melcher], imprimeur.

A la Providence—Chez Carter, imprimeur.

A Baltimore—Chez Louis Marez.
A Norfolk—Chez Baxter et Wilson, imprimeurs.
A Bennington—Chez Haswel, imprimeur.
A Alexandrie—Chez Hanson et Bond, imprimeurs.
A Richemond—Chez Dixon, imprimeur.
A Fayette-Ville—Chez Martin et Sybley, imprimeurs.
A Charleston—Chez Markland et McIvers, imprimeurs.
A Savannah—Chez Jonson, imprimeur.

Nota. Toutes ces personnes sont priées de vouloir bien envoyer sans rétard soit à l'auteur, soit à l'imprimeur ci-dessus indiqués, l'état des abonnés de leur endroit respectif, afin que les envois se fassent avec exactitude.

The supplement to Number 33 has the imprint:

De l'Imprimerie de Parker et Compagnie, Seconde rue Sud, No. 61.

In the next issue, Number 34, for December 9, the statement and imprint appear:

On s'abonne à ce *Journal* tous les premier et 15 du mois, chez l'Auteur, troisième rue Nord, No. 97, au-dessus et du même côté que l'Enseigne du Cygne d'or.

A Philadelphie de l'Imprimerie de Parent et Compagnie.

This probably establishes the date of the opening of the French printing office. Thereafter the text, especially in respect to the use of accents, was much more correct, but the workmen seem to have been as much less skilful or more careless. They may have been negroes, but whether slaves or free, they undoubtedly were subject to the slackness incidental to industrial conditions on the island where they presumably learned the printing trade.

The following schedule shows the serial number of the copies at the John Carter Brown Library, the inclusive dates for which copies have not been found, and in parentheses the number of missing issues.

1793	Sept. 23–25	(2)
3, Sept. 27 [pp. 5–8]	Sept. 30–Oct. 4	(3)
7, Oct. 7	Oct. 9–11	(2)
10, Oct. 14	Oct. 16	(1)
12, Oct. 18	Oct. 21	(1)
14–20, Oct. 23–Nov. 6	Nov. 8–13	(3)
Supplement to No. 20, pp. 81–82		
24, Nov. 15	Nov. 18[?]	(1)
Supplement to No. 25. [This contains an advertisement of a ship that was to depart on the fifteenth of the month, but this is probably not conclusive evidence that the ship sailed or the supplement appeared on or before that date. But as No. 26 is dated Saturday, the sixteenth, something seems wrong at this point]		
26, Nov. 16	Nov. 20–Dec. 6	(8)
Supplement to No. 33		
34, Dec. 9	Dec. 11–13	(2)
37, Dec. 16	[Uncertain]	

"ETOILE AMÉRICAINE," 1794

This paper appeared February 1, 1794, with the title, in English and French, the *American Star, or, Historical, Political, Critical, and Moral Journal.* The editor was C. C. Tanguy de la Boissière and it was printed by Parent and Company. It was issued on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings, according to the Prospectus, which adds that "as the posts generally arrive about noon, we shall consequently be enabled to publish the latest

intelligence." The list of agents includes several names not found in those of the other papers: in New York, T. Allen and M. Foudeviolle, No. 40, Vesey Street; Baltimore, J. Rice and M. Louis Marex; Charleston, W. P. Young and M. Delayre; Boston, David West; New Haven, Isaac Beers; Fayetteville (N.C.), M. Raimond; Wilmington (Delaware), Mr. Querret Durivage.

The first month it came out as a quarto, with ordinarily eight pages to the number; on March 1 it became a folio, with four pages to the number.

It doubtless reflected the views of the party that supported the Paris *Etoile*. A pamphlet, signed by B. P. O. Shiell, Habitant propriètaire de la Partie du Sud de présent à Philadelphie, Lombard Street, undated but printed some time after July, 1793, has the title:

> Introduction A un Ouvrage relatif aux Hommes de Couleur et Nègres libres des Antilles.

An attack on the opinions expressed in this "Introduction" was answered in a two-page quarto fly sheet, signed B. B. Oshiel and headed:

> A l'Editeur De l'Etoile Américaine.

In Parent's *Courrier Française*, Number 11, April 26, 1794, is the following note:

> Laissons l'Etoile *Anti*-Américaine obscurçir tout ce qu'elle prétend éclairer, choisir dans la révolution française tout ce qui a pu la noircir: *le Courrier Français* s'attachera toujours à faire distinguer les erreurs dans lesquel la France fut entrainée, d'avec les crimes de ses ennemis.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has the prospectus and the following numbers: it lacks the issues for the dates that follow:

1794	Feb. 1	(1)
2– 3	Feb. 8	(1)
5– 6	Feb. 15	(1)
8– 9	Feb. 22	(1)
11	Feb. 27	(1)
13–20	Mar. 20–22	(2)
23	Mar. 27–29	(2)
26	Apr. 3–8	(3)
30	Apr. 12–15	(2)
33	Apr. 19–29	(5)
39–40	[Uncertain]	

"LE NIVEAU," 1794–95

"*The Level of Europe and North America.* By Pierre Egron, L.L.D. from France. No. 45, Fifth, below Walnut-Street. Printed for the Editor, by William W. Woodward, Franklin's Head, No. 36, Chesnut-street," was not in any sense a newspaper, except in format and method of publication. It began as a large folio, with two columns of parallel English and French text. The fourth issue was a quarto, with two title-pages and pages 1–14 of text, the parallel columns each headed Number 1.

The central feature of the heading is a level, or letter A, with a sheaf of wheat as a background, and the motto: "Ab orbe docti docemus orbem."

Volume I, Number 1, is dated Monday, October 1, 1794, and consists of eight pages. Pages 9–12 do not have the heading, but its place is occupied by a correction, in a

letter dated Philadelphia, November 20, 1794, and beginning: "Sir, Your work, from its title, is destined to become in the eyes of the inhabitants of Europe, a testimony to be constantly referred to on the price of the lands of the United States, on their produce and the imported article there consumed. . . . ." If the first page of this second issue challenges the right to be regarded as a periodical, the last page counterbalances this, for half of it is occupied by advertisements of Peale's Museum and John Hankart's Manufacture de Tabac, both giving most interesting details. Pages 13–16 are in the same form.

The first quarto title reads "The Level . . . . or the Observer's Guide." It is dated Monday, February 9, 1795, and gives the following explanation of its purposes:

This Periodical work on a plan as novel as instructive is composed by Messrs. Egron, Tangui, and a society of literati and American and European commercial Gentlemen. It is written in English and French, and is divided into fifty-two numbers a year, the first of which appeared in the month of October last, in folio, which size, in compliance with the desire of our Subscribers, has been changed into that of quarto.

It contains 1st. A statement of the meteorological observations made in the course of each month, whether in the continent of North-America, or in Europe.

2dly. A list of all goods exported from, or imported into, the different markets of North-America and Europe, with their comparative prices reduced to the weight measure and coin of the United States.

Lastly. Observations on the different manufactures established, or likely to be established with advantage in America, on the nature of the soil in the different states, their present productions and

those that may be substituted in their stead, together with the progressive value of lands.

Subscriptions are received by Peter Egron, L.L.D., the Editor at Philadelphia, No. 45, South Fifth street.

Price to Subscribers 8 dollars, payable half yearly.

The second title is perhaps an insert of slightly later date, reading: "The Observer of Europe and North America: Or A Journal of Political Economy, Agriculture, Meteorology, Commerce, Navigation, Manufactures, Arts and Sciences, etc." Below is a list of agents, including correspondents in New Orleans and Kingston, Jamaica. The reverse contains "Avertissement Pour L'Europe," with the names of agents in thirty-four foreign cities.

The collation of the copy at the Boston Athenaeum is: Pp. 16 in folio; 2 titles, pp. 147, and 6 folded leaves, quarto. The sections begin on the following pages: p. 15, "Third Part. March 2, 1795"; p. 35, "Sequel of No. 2, in quarto"; p. 51, "Number Four"; p. 79 (apparently); p. 91, "No. 6"; p. 105, "Number VII"; and p. 125 (apparently).

On p. 145 is an advertisement dated January 27, 1796, stating that M. Egron had gone abroad. The printer, Woodward, desired to continue the publication under still another title, "The Intelligence of Both Worlds, or the Journal of Politics, Meteorology, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Navigation," to be "regularly delivered every Monday," for five dollars annually. He adds that the meteorological observations after 1787 had been mislaid in the printing office, and begs the learned gentle-

men who had supplied them to M. Egron to assist by replacing them.

The first folio opens with a very brief introduction, and "Directions for Making Accurate Meteorological Observations," followed by the first instalment of the treatise on political economy. The author of this inserts an explanatory note:

> It is a duty I owe myself to do away an erroneous opinion which has gone abroad concerning me. Several persons think I am associated with Mr. Egron for the execution of the periodical work, entitled *The Level of Europe and North America.* The only concern I have in that work is, that, as he himself declares, I suggested to him the idea of it, and have furnished this essay on Political Economy. To the rest I am a stranger. My wishes calling me back to Europe do not permit me to form in the United States undertakings of long continuance. LAROCQUE.

"COURRIER FRANÇAIS," 1794–98

The *Courrier Français* of Philadelphia was the organ of the largest group of French refugees, and the group which maintained its separate autonomy most distinctly, as long as there was any hope of being restored to a home in French territory. It is not clear how far it served as an organ also for the representatives of the government at Paris. There are occasionally signs that may imply that this, as well as its New York contemporary, was subsidized by the French diplomatic representatives, but more often the views reflect those of the ruined San Domingo white planters, regardless of French official and parliamentary action. The fact that the files of both papers are apt

to be defective, at periods when it might be easier to determine the editorial position, complicates the problem of answering this question.

The story of the *Courrier* has been pieced together from a few issues at the John Carter Brown Library and from a file at the New York Public Library which lacks nearly all of the issues in which the editor presumably made interesting statements relating to its history. There is nothing in the surviving earlier issues to indicate the publisher's name, but it is probable, in view of later practice, that this was accidental, due to the fact that there was other use for the space in those particular issues. The paper enjoyed a fair amount of advertising, and the omission of the imprint, which appeared at this period at the bottom of the last page, was the simplest method of gaining space for which money would be paid, or at least promised. The imprint appears in Number 159:

A Philadelphie, chez Parent, imprimeur, Vine-street Numéro 85.

The paper starts as a small quarto, ordinarily of four pages, with the text in two columns. Below the title heading is a quotation which was frequently changed. This quotation disappears with Number 310, the end of the first volume, April 15, 1795, at which time Parent's name and address take a permanent place as part of the heading of each issue.

Each issue gives the, or a, date in both the new French and the old, but surviving, style; a serial number; and consecutive page numbers on the second, third, and fourth pages. A single additional page, whether issued

as a supplement or as part of the regular paper, was frequently not numbered; if there were two extra pages issued with the regular daily paper, these were apt to bear the same page numbers as those on the third and fourth pages, which became the fifth and sixth pages when the extra leaf was inserted in the middle of the regular normal issue. The summary of the two files, below, does not attempt to keep track of the vagaries introduced into the pagination. The notes which are given on the numbering of the issues, and occasionally on the dates, are sufficient to show how confusing all the numbering became at times.

The printer's practice was to put the outside form, the first and last pages, on the press first. In getting this ready, the heading, imprint, and a great many of the advertisements, which were on the last page, did not need to be touched at all from day to day, simply remaining in place in the chase when the type that had served its purpose was lifted out. It is evident that the workman was apt to be either hurried or careless. He often forgot that there was a page number to alter on the last page, for this number is the same a great many times in two successive issues. The third time it was almost always noticed and changed. The two inside pages ordinarily are numbered correctly, mistakes being due to other causes, of which the most frequent was the fact that the numerals 3 and 5, in old type blurred with ink, were easily confused. This same explanation accounts for many of the mistakes which were made in the serial

numbering. These mistakes are sufficiently numerous to make it quite impossible to estimate with any confidence how many issues of the paper actually appeared. There were unquestionably as many mistakes during the intervals for which no copies have been found as in those which are listed here. The obvious method of calculating the number of days on which the paper should have been printed is unsafe, because there are several known intervals when the paper did not appear daily, due to the fact that the editor had to move, or his compositors had personal concerns to attend to, or for other good reasons. At these times of irregular issue, the date of issue, as well as the numbering, was apt to be misprinted, adding to the other sources of confusion.

The first year began on April 15, 1794, and ended with Number 310, for April 15, 1795. The last page is numbered 1260, which would be correct, allowing for a few extras. The number 728, for the second page of Number 156, the earliest in the New York file, is clearly a mistake, which was either corrected or compensated by other subsequent errors.

The second year starts with a new numbering. Number 67, July 5, contains the first list of correspondents in other cities, reading:

> Les souscripteurs dont l'abonnement est fini, sont priés de renouveller aux adresses ci-aprés: à Philadelphie, au Bureau de ladite feuille; à New-York, chez le citoyen Stollenwerck rue William, No. 156; à Baltimore, chez le citoyen Munier, successeur du citoyen Leblanc, rue Gay; à Norfolk, chez le citoyen Faure.

An extremely interesting sentence is added at the beginning of this notice, with other changes, in Number 140:

Cette feuille parait tous les jours à huit heures du matin. ... à Philadelphie chez l'Editeur; ... citoyen Munier tenant pension française; à Charleston, chez le citoyen Carlan; ...

Le prix de l'abonnement est de dix gourdes par an; deux et demie par trimestre; et d'une gourde pour un mois.

The daily routine of publication, therefore, began with the printing in the early morning of the inside pages, made ready the night before, with the possibility of inserting any items of news brought in by belated travelers or by ships that came into port by the dawning light. The ink on the outer pages, printed in the afternoon, thus had a chance to dry overnight.

On August 24 is the announcement:

Le citoyen Parent, prévient ses abonnées qu'un des compositeurs qui travaille à la feuille, étant obligé de s'absenter pendant sept à huit jours, il ne donnera pendant ce temps que tous les deux jours. Le premier Septembre elle sera distribuée comme à l'ordinaire.

The period of tri-weekly issues was prolonged until after the middle of October. At this time, or else later, in the first months of 1796, when the paper was again in apparent difficulties, an undated small broadside was issued, reading:

AVIS AUX SOUSCRIPTEURS.

L'Editeur de cette feuille a cru jusqu'à ce jour répondre à la confiance de ses Souscripteurs, et il était dans la ferme persuasion de pouvoir encore la mériter; mais depuis long-tems, on méditait

la chûte de son journal, peut-être un des plus patriotiques du continent. On lui à enlevé ses ouvriers. Un des principaux a quitté au milieu de la composition du No. de ce jour.

Quelques soient les motifs de cette désertion, Parent n'en continuera pas moins *Le Courrier Français* qu'il distribuera seulement trois fois par semaine, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait pu se procurer d'autres ouvriers. Son seul regret est de n'avoir pu prévenir plutôt ses concitoyens; il ne l'était pas lui même.

Cette feuille qui paraitra dorénavant les Lundi, Mercredi et Vendredi, sera consacrée entiérement aux nouvelles qui seront les plus intéressantes aux vrais REPUBLICAINS FRANÇAIS

Il recevra les avis comme à l'ordinaire. Le prix de l'abonnement est de huit gourdes par an, ou de deux par trimestre.

In October, 1796, the Baltimore pension passed to *citoyen* Joseph Fabre, and then to *citoyen* Faget. In May, 1797, there are blanks for the New York agency, and when in July *citoyen* Badolet was named, the address remained uncertain. Pearl Street was given on August 12, and on August 23 Number 101 finally completed the entry. In the following March, *citoyen* Parisot, Beekman Street, No. 81, appears as the New York agent. In the same month, March, 1798, Number 267 of Année IV, is the notice:

L'Imprimeur prévient MM. les abonnés que cette feuille ne paraitra pas demain, vu son démenagement.

The next issue after this of Wednesday, March 7, was on Saturday, in which Parent's address in the heading is changed from Cinquième rue Sud, No. 32, to Seconde rue Nord, No. 147. Parent's name continues on the paper, alone, but the change of address involved an expansion of

his interests, for on March 19 the firm of Boislandry and Parent announce that they have

> Un magasin où ils recevront toute espèce de marchandises, qu'ils se chargeront de vendre, par commission, le plus promptement possible. Ils ont des magasins et caves assez considérable pour la reception de toute sorte d'effets. Ils procureront des fonds aux propriétaires de marchandises, s'ils en ont besoin, ainsi que l'escompte de bonnes notes.

Subsequent appearances of this advertisement include lists of wet and dry goods which the house had on sale.

Parent announced his partnership with Boislandry in a broadside headed NOUVEL ETABLISSEMENT, of which the New York Public Library has preserved a copy. This explains that the new firm will do business in an entirely different fashion from the other auction house of the city. A paragraph which directly concerns the paper reads:

> La publicité du Courrier-Français les met à même de procurer à ceux qui les honoreraient de leur confiance, un avantage qu'ils trouveraient difficilement ailleurs et qui doit être précieux, aux yeux de ceux qui veulent vendre & de ceux qui veulent acheter. Il sera ajouté à la gazette une feuille ou bulletin qui paraîtra tous les Lundis de chaque semaine, & plus souvent si les affaires l'exigent, ou sera insérée, sans aucune augmentation de frais, la liste détaillée des objets qui se trouveront au dépôt (avec le prix, s'il est requis) cette publication périodique à laquelle on pourra encore donner de l'extension, suivant celle des affaires, aura la double avantage.
>
> 1°. D'annoncer au public la variété & la nature des objets qui se trouveront à leur dépôt.
>
> 2°. Celui d'en accélérer & d'en faciliter la vente.

Another change took place a month later. Parent's name appears on Number 300, Année VI, April 20, 1798.

The next issue known is for May 11, which is Année VI, Number 15, and has the imprint:

Publié et imprimé par Allain, Blocquerst et Wilson, Seconde rue Nord, No. 147.

Wilson's name disappears in Number 38, June 7. The new publishers showed their enterprise by inserting advertisements at the head of the first column on the first page, and for several issues printed an extra sheet for advertisements. For whatever reason, the paper came to a sudden end with Number 60, on July 3, with the announcement:

Les éditeurs du *Courrier Français*, préviennent le Public, qu'à compter de ce jour, ils cessent la publication de leur gazette; ceux qui leur doivent sont priés de venir solder leur compte chez le citoyen Blocquerst, Première rue Nord No. 238. Ceux à qui il peut être dú pour abonnement & avis, peuvent s'adresser au même, qui réglera avec eux, en représentant leur quittances. Ils sont priés de se présenter d'aujourd'hui à Vendredi.

Several of the issues of the last month carried the following advertisement, which contains the most of bibliographical significance that appeared in any of these papers:

Moreau de St.-Mery étant au moment de terminer l'impression du second volume du voyage de la Chine par Van Braam, dont il est l'Editeur; et de son second volume de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue; veut vendre,

1°. Une imprimerie complette avec laquelle on peut entreprendre également la publication de plusieurs ouvrages, soit en français, soit en anglais.

2°. Environ 300 exemplaires qui lui restent des mille de son édition de la Description de la Partie Française de St.-Domingue

(dont le ler. volume est déjà traduit & publié en hollandais par un libraire d'Harlem).

3°. Environ 300 exemplaires de sa Description de la Partie Espagnole de St.-Domingue.

4°. Environ 500 exemplaires de la traduction en anglais de la Description de la Partie Espagnole (avec le privilége).

5°. Des exemplaires de son Atlas de St.-Domingue.

6°. Environ 300 exemplaires restant de mille de l'édition de son Abrégé des Sciences (avec le privilége).

7°. Autant du même ouvrage traduit en Anglais (avec le privilége).

8°. Environ 150 exemplaires des Nouvelles Etrennes Spirituelles.

9°. Quelques livres qui lui restent du fond de sa librairie.

10°. Un Forté-Piano.

11°. Un Violon de Renaudin.

12°. Plusieurs meubles & objets dont le détail serait trop long.

Enfin MOREAU DE ST.-MERY cedera aussi plusieurs ouvrages de sa bibliothèque personnelle & quelques-unes de ses cartes.

Tous les articles sont à des prix tres avantageux pour l'acheteur.

MOREAU DE ST.-MERY demeure au coin de la Première rue & de Callow-hill, No. 259.

The first year ended with Number 310, and the second began a new numbering, on April 16, 1795. "Année II" appears on each number to Number 341, June 4, 1796; the issue for June 5 is Number 342, Année III. Année IIIme continues to Number 616, April 12, and probably a few days later, for the earliest issue of Année IV, Number 28, is dated May 17, 1797, which would carry the beginning of this volume back to April 15. Année IVme ends with Number 280, March 26, 1798; the next day's issue, with the same Number 280, is Année VI, and this

continued until the paper changed hands late in April. The new proprietors began a new numbering, but kept the Année VI, presumably recollecting that there had been no "fifth" year.

The New York Public Library file is listed, by the dates of the issues in the file, in the Library's "Checklist of Newspapers and Official Gazettes," printed in its *Bulletin* in 1915. This was compiled by Daniel C. Haskell, who has verified the data for the schedule below. The John Carter Brown Library has twenty issues, of which three are earlier than any in the New York set, and two others help to fill gaps in the file. Harvard has five issues, one of which is not found elsewhere.

The following schedule gives the serial numbers in these libraries, the dates not represented, and in parentheses the number of issues probably wanting.

	1794 Apr. 15[?]–25	(10)
11 [JCB]	Apr. 28–Aug. 12	(91)
103 [JCB]	Aug. 14–Oct. 4	(44)
148 [JCB]	Oct. 7–14	(7)
156–64	Oct. 25	(1)
[The issues for Oct. 20 and 21 are "Nov." 19 and 20]		
166–89	Nov. 24	(1)
Supplements for Oct. 22 and Nov. 1		
191–95	Nov. 30 [?]	(1 ?)
[The date for the missing No. 196 is that of a Sunday, so that there may have been a mistake in numbering. The John Carter Brown Library has Nos. 194–200 except for this No. 196]		
197–208	Dec. 15	(1)
210–223	1795 Jan. 2	(1)

[The issue for New Year's Day has one leaf only]

225–238, 238–242	Jan. 26	(1)

[The two issues numbered 238 are for Jan. 19 and 20; there is no issue for Jan. 22, but numbering and pagination are continuous]

244–56	Feb. 11	(1)
258–302	Apr. 7	

Supplements for Mar. 4 and Apr. 2

304–310	Apr. 16 (Année II, No. 1)	(1)

Année II

2–5	Apr. 22–23	(2)
8–23	May 13 or 14	(1?)

[There may have been two issues numbered 24]

25 [JCB]	May 16	(1)
27–69	July 7	(1)
71–101 [No. 72 is "71"]	Aug. 14	(1)
103–7		
108 [JCB]	Aug. 22	(1)
110–25, 125–29	Oct. 2	(1)

[Tri-weekly issues began on Aug. 24]

Supplements for Aug. 31, Sept. 9, 16, and 30

131–37	Oct. 21 and 23	(2)

[No. 134 has five pages. The quarto issues end with one of the missing numbers. The ensuing issues are on paper of folio size. The daily issues were resumed at this time]

Supplements for Oct. 12 and 14

140–54	Nov. 12	(1)

[Nos. 150 and 151 are numbered "170" and "171"]

156–173, 176–197, 199	1796 Jan. 1–May 27	(136?)

[No. 174 is "176," and this mistake was not corrected; No. 187 is "186"; No. 198 is "199"; Nov. 24 and 25 are "25" and "26"]

[There were 126 week days during the interval for which no copies have been seen; the serial numbering omits 136 numbers]

335–41

Année III

342–44	June 9–10	(2)
347 [Harvard]	June 13–17	(4?)

[There were four issues for five week days, or two issues had the same number, a mistake that was not corrected]

352–64, 364, 365, 365, 365–78	July 25	(1)

[During the last week of June, when the serial numbers were changed only once in five days, the imprint was reset with a misprint, "souscrii," which was not corrected until Saturday. The issues for July 11–15 were dated "10–14"]

[There was no issue for July 5.] [With the second No. 364 the paper returned to the quarto form, the size and shape of the type page remaining the same as in the folio issues]

[380]–413, 416–39, 450, 450–51	Oct. 5	(1)

[No. 380 is "No. 37"; Aug. 29 is "Aug. 30." The pagination is consecutive from No. 413, Sept. 2, to 416, Sept. 3. Oct. 3 is "Oct. 2"]

453–75, 475–90	Nov. 21–22	(2)
493–96, 499–514	Dec. 16	(1)

[The numbers 497 and 498 were omitted]

[After this all the issues are on small quarto paper]

516–60	1797 Feb. 8	(1)
562–616	Apr. 13–14[?]	(2?)

[Nos. 603 and 604 are omitted, but there is no break in the dates or pagination. There are two issues numbered 612; the second has two pages only; the latter and No. 613 are both dated Apr. 7. The issue for Feb. 20 is "Feb. 19"; for Mar. 1 is "Feb. 29"; No. 613 repeats the date of the two preceding issues "18 germinal Vendredi 7 Avril"—it was undoubtedly issued on Saturday the eighth]

[This Année ended with page 1714, if there were two four-page issues not in the file]

Supplement for April 3

Année IV	Apr. 15 [?]–May 16	(27)
28–35, 34	May 27 [?]	(1 ?)

[The confused numbering is the only reason for questioning whether a paper was printed on Saturday, May 27; see the next note. Only one number, 37, is lacking; "34" should be 36 and "36," 38]

36, 39–60	June 24–July 7	(11)

[There were thirteen week days during the interval not represented, but one of these was July 4]

72–81, 81	July 21–Aug. 11	(17)

[No paper was issued on July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. No. 76 has eight pages. Both Nos. 81 are dated "2 Thermidor Jeudi 20 juillet"]

99–119	Sept. 6–Oct. 7	(28)

[No. 113 is "112." The issue for Monday, Sept. 4, is "Sept. 2"]

148–54	Oct. 17–21	(5)
160–169, 173–184, 184–201	Dec. 9–15	(6)

[There was no issue for Thursday, Oct. 26. Nos. 170–72 were omitted; the dates and pagination are consecutive. No. 164, for Oct. 28, has the date and number of the preceding issue. No. 185 is "150." Both issues numbered 184 are dated "27 brumaire vendredi 17 novembre"; the second should have had the next day's date]

208–211, 211–218

[No paper was issued for Dec. 25]

Supplements Nov. 7 and 29

1798

212–21	Jan. 13–Feb. 23	(36)

[There was no issue for Jan. 1 as the pagination is consecutive, but it is curious that the blunder in the serial number, after the holiday, should revert to the mistake made at Christmas time]

258–267, 267–280

[The issues for Mar. 7 and 10 are both "No. 267"; the pagination is consecutive, so that it is probable there was no paper on the intervening days. The issue for Mar. 19 is "Mar. 21"]

[The end of Année IV]

Année VI

280–282	Mar. 30–Apr. 6	(7)

[The issue for Mar. 29 has one leaf only]

290–296, 296–300	Apr. 21–24 [?]	(3 ?)

[The issues for Apr. 9 and 10 are dated "Apr. 8" and "9"; those for Apr. 16 to 18 are "17," "18," and "19"]

Année VI	Apr. 25 [?]–May 10	(14)
15–24	May 23	(1)
26–44	June 15	(1)

[No. 36 is "35"]

46–49, 49–52, 54–60

Supplements for June 25 and 26 and July 3

COURRIER DE LA FRANCE, 1795 ?

The *Courrier Français* was threatened with a rival, which proposed to come out each day three hours later than the established French organ. The name shows that it was to represent the party which had supported the *Courrier Politique de la France et de ses Colonies*, of which this was presumably a revival. No copy of the paper has been seen and it is uncertain whether it actually

began publication. The plan is given in a small quarto broadside which is preserved in the volume of St. Domingo refugee papers at the John Carter Brown Library, already described.

PROSPECTUS

C'est appeller sur soi toute la sévérité des autres que de se juger soi-même avec trop de bonté; aussi ne conçois-je pas la plupart des écrivains qui se battent les flancs, se rongent les ongles, & s'écorchent le front, pour persuader que se qui sortira de leur plume sera la chose par excellence. On dirait, en vérité, que cet être moral appellé *Public*, s'est laissé si souvent tromper, que bien des gens se sont accoutumés à n'avoir aucune confiance dans ses lumieres. Moi j'ai toujours pensé qu'il en était de l'annonce d'un ouvrage, comme d'une constitution, qui n'est que le prospectus de la félicité publique. Si les résultats en sont bons, le peuple les adopte sans qu'il soit besoin de le cajoler ou d'employer la violence; s'ils sont mauvais, on est fort heureux qu'il se borne à les rejeter.

Je me propose de publier un journal sous le titre de

Courrier de la France et des Colonies.

J'y rapporterai les faits aves fidélité, je ferai ensorte que le lecteur, de quelque opinion qu'il soit, ne puisse en vouloir qu'aux circonstances, lorsqu'il jettera les yeux sur une nouvelle qui n'entrera pas dans ses arangements: mais si la vérité appartient à tout le monde, mes principes m'appartiennent aussi. Qu'on ne s'attende donc pas à trouver dans les réflexions que je hazarderai quelquefois, l'apologie des cruautés ou des folies qui deshonorent ce siecle: j'aime mieux qu'on dise de moi "c'est un homme sans caractere, & qui ne sait tenir à aucun parti, que d'abandonner un seul instant les droits de l'humanité. Je puis être persuadé que le gouvernement monarchique convient mieux que tout autre à la France, et me montrer en même tems l'ennemi des préjugés inutile ou dangereux, des prétentions ridicules, des moyens exécrables de quelques

français aveuglés par la vengeance ou éblouis par l'éclat des richesses que leur offrent des mains perfides.

Le courrier de la France & des Colonies paraitra tous les jours à onze heures du matin, & sera composé de quatre pages *in quarto.* Tous les avis de commerce &c. y feront insérés à un prix modéré, & si leur insertion pouvait retarder celle des nouvelles, je ne regarderais pas aux frais d'un supplément.

Les infortunés que la rage des factions a jettés loin de leur patrie, seront instruits de ses succès, de ses revers, des changemens qu'elle éprouvera dans la forme de son gouvernement, de tout ce qui, enfin, pourra les mettre à portée d'entrevoir l'heureuse époque où la France jouira des douceurs de la paix sous un gouvernement ferme & durable.

Le premier numero de cette feuille, semblable à ce prospectus, pour la caractere & le format, paraitra le 15 de ce mois.

GATERAU

Le prix d'abonement est de cinq gourdes pour six mois; deux gourdes & demi pour un trimestre.

Les habitants de Philadelphie peuvent s'abonner pour un mois.

N.B. On souscrit à l'imprimerie de cette feuille, chez Moreau de St. Mery, imprimeur-libraire, au coin de Front & Walnut Streets.

Philadelphie ce 1er. Octobre 1795

Printed by Moreau de St. Mery, Printer and Book-seller, corner of Front and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia.

"MONITEUR DE LA LOUISIANE," NEW ORLEANS, 1794

BY WILLIAM BEER

ALL that is known about this paper, before 1802, is deduced from a copy of Number 26, for Monday, August 25, 1794. This single surviving issue belonged in 1896 to Mr. W. H. Wilson, who allowed the Louisiana Historical Society to make a facsimile which appeared in Volume I, Part IV, of its *Publications*.

If Number 26 is a typical issue, the *Moniteur* was one of the best strictly local papers of its time. It clearly aimed to live up to its motto: "Bombalio, Clangor, Stridor, Taratantara, Murmur." This number opens with "Avis Divers"—a warning that a recent arrival in town, who is named, was trying to raise money on a draft which had already been paid; a notice of dissolution of partnership; and two advertisements of land for sale. The local heading is August 21, perhaps the date of the arrival of letters giving European news as late as May 17. The extracts from other newspapers are from a Havana paper of July 5. There is a paragraph of Brussels news of February 12, copied from the *Gazette de Madrid*.

A half-column contains "Reponse à la lettre soi disant habitant du Bayou Sara," which is to be continued in the next issue. This correspondent was annoyed by the frivolous nature of the reply to his previous communica-

tion, and he now returns to the plea for greater simplicity, both in instruments and in remedies, on the part of medical practitioners in places distant from the great metropolises of medical learning. It is impossible to guess from this fragment whether the writer is a doctor attempting a cleverly veiled advertisement or someone seeking satisfaction after an experience with a practitioner whose learning had not benefited the patient.

The paper was issued "De l'Imp. de L. Duclot, avec permission & Privilège de Mgr. le Gouverneur."

The history of the facsimile plates is a sad one. The editor of the Historical Society's *Publications* heard of the copy of the *Moniteur*, obtained a loan of it, and had the half-tone plate made. Of course the plate went to the printer who did not return it with the printed copies and it perished in a fire which destroyed that printer's shop. After I learned of this, I tried to get the original paper, and found that it also had been destroyed.

There are two references to the *Moniteur* in Berquin Duvallon's *Vue de la Colonie espagnole du Mississipi*, Paris, 1803:

> Monsieur Cardonelet thought proper some years ago to allow of the establishment of a printing press in New Orleans, of the publication of a newspaper entitled the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* in which would be inserted the different notices concerning commerce, agriculture and other objects of public utility, also a paragraph relating to political news. Our Creoles are generally very curious and anxious for foreign news; this sheet is very well edited, it might have been presumed that considering all things there would have been a great number of subscribers. What has happened I

heard from the editor himself that never since the first publication of this sheet until to-day has it attained more than 80 subscribers at a time, most of them European or foreigners. Parsimony on one side a dislike for reading on the other have kept our Creoles aloof.

There was only found one small printing office of which I have already spoken; it was established with the approval of Mons. Carondelet, formerly governor of this colony. It is under the control of the government and is only used for printing the gazette which appears once a week under the title of the *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, of the ordinances of the government and regulations of the administration, of alphabets and catechisms for children, of passports and other forms.

The founder of the *Moniteur*, when it first appeared on March 3, 1794, was L. Duclot, a refugee from San Domingo. Those who know the attitude of the Spanish officials of the eighteenth century toward the printing press can easily imagine the difficulties he must have overcome before obtaining the consent of Carondelet, the then governor, to the issue of a weekly newspaper in the French language which should presume to enlighten the population on the doings of the outside world and occasionally on those of the city and territory.

In 1796 Jean Baptiste Leseur Fontaine became the editor, which position he seems to have occupied until 1814. For a few years he was also the publisher of the paper. In 1797 the *Moniteur* became the official state paper.

Fontaine, the editor of the *Moniteur*, in his will left his editorial set, containing the only account of the government of Laussat, from November 30 to Decem-

ber 20, 1803. This set has never been found but we are hoping all the time that it will be discovered, because it does not seem to be in any known collection. The few volumes we have were certainly not a portion of an editorial set.

The first complete volume in any public collection runs from Number 305, August 14, 1802, to Number 371, November 26, 1803. It has changed in size to 12 by 10 inches and has frequent supplements. It deals with the period when Louisiana, which had again become French by treaty, was still governed by the Spanish authorities, and contains among other documents the rules for the government of Louisiana during the brief second French domination. This volume is in the museum in the Cabildo in New Orleans.

There is a long break in the files after this. The next volumes known are in the Archive Room in the City Hall at New Orleans. They commence with Number 660, October 22, 1806. The paper has now grown in size to 17½ by 12 inches. With the exception of a few missing and incomplete numbers this series runs to Number 1641, July 2, 1814, the last number issued. This shows that this brave and faithful editor worked practically to the last moment of his life, for the *Louisiana Gazette* of Tuesday, July 5, 1814, contains this notice:

> J. B. L. S. Fontaine died yesterday between ten and eleven in the morning, his body will be buried to-day at six o'clock in the evening and will be at his house 19 rue Royal, we invite our fellow-citizens to be present at the funeral.

In the same paper on July 7 appeared this notice:

Died on the 4th instant J. B. L. S. Fontaine aged 72 years. Mr. Fontaine was born in France and was an inhabitant of Cape François when it was destroyed and by its destruction he lost every sou he was worth and fled for safety to New York. In 1796 he came by particular invitation to this city where he remained until his decease. His talents as a comedian and editor, his social qualities and gentlemanly conduct, endeared him to society. He was an enemy to the revolutionary principles that so long deluged his native country in blood and often (to his intimate friends) expressed a hope that he should live to hear of a Bourbon being on the throne of France. His hope was realized and he departed in peace, we trust to play his part in another and a better world.

The eleventh clause of his will is as follows:

I bequeath to the City Council or to the authority which shall replace it in case of change, the bound collection of my *Moniteur* in volumes of different sizes, as well as the numbers which may not be bound and which will be found in order. This collection will furnish some day the materials for the history of this territory, seeing that the *Moniteur* is the only journal which contains all the official documents, Spanish, French, and American, which relate to the changes of government and all officially issued territorial laws, decisions of the City Council, municipal notices, etc., etc., also the consumption of flour by the bakers, the bills of mortality and the list of baptisms and marriages, etc.

In spite of the attempt of Fontaine to secure the safety of his files, only nine years out of twenty can now be found. It is very sad that the work of the faithful and hard-working journalist should thus be allowed to perish.

"LA PATRIOTE FRANÇAIS," CHARLESTON, 1794(?)–95

ALL that has as yet been learned about the French paper published at Charleston, South Carolina, is deduced from a single issue preserved at the John Carter Brown Library. It is in the volume of tracts described on a preceding page in the account of the Philadelphia papers. It is dated "le 5 Thermidor (Jeudi 23 Juillet, V.S.)," which establishes the year as 1795. This is confirmed by the fact that the year is given in the heading to the principal article in this issue. It is numbered "Vol. II. No. II.," which of course may have been intended for 11. The issue is devoted largely to a report of a meeting held on July 16; this permits a guess that the paper appeared once a week.

The colophon reads:

> A Charleston, de l'Imprimerie de Beleurgey, Queen street, maison Nixon, où l'on s'abonne à l'année, 8 gourdes; six mois, 4 gourdes, & un mois, 1 gourde, Franc de Port. On insère, dans cette Gazette, tous les Avis, Annonces, Demandes, &c.

There is a summary of world-news under the Philadelphia dateline of June 19, and an abstract of the articles agreed on with the chiefs of the Vendée on March 7. From New York, June 28, is the news of the deportation of Barrere, Collot-d'Herbois and Billaud. Other items are headed Bayonne, May 15, and London, April 23.

Half the issue, nearly four columns, is filled by a report of a committee of citizens selected at a mass meeting in St. Michaels Church, to examine Jay's treaty with England.

Not quite a column of advertisements supplies, as so often, the most interesting matter in the paper. It announces that Citizen Morin has opened a "Salle d'armes" and will give lessons from seven to nine in the morning or from five to seven in the afternoon, with the frank assurance that "Les personnes qui voudront l'honorer de leur présence seront reçues avec satisfaction." The publisher states that he has for sale copies of the treaties between the United States and France and similar publications. He also desires to hire a negro cook and a maid. The most interesting of all, however, is at the head of the column:

THEATRE DE CHARLESTON
Demain vendredi 24 Juillet.
Les Comédiens Français donneront
LE DESERTEUR
Opéra en trois Actes.
Cette Piéce sera suivie,
(A la demande d'une Compagnie de Citoyens
& Citoyennes de Charleston) de
JUPITER ET EUROPE
ou
LA JALOUSIE DE JUNON
Grande Pantomime en deux Actes.

THE NEW YORK PAPER

THE *Gazette Française et Américaine* appeared on July 6, 1795, at 63 Liberty Street, New York, without the name of publisher or editor. It was a folio sheet, four pages of four columns each, with the text in parallel columns of French and English, and was published on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week.

The first issue opens with the following

ADVERTISEMENT

The Editor of the *French and American Gazette* had announced in his prospectus that, from the 1st of July next, he would publish his paper every day, but the number of Subscribers not being sufficient to defray the expense, he will be obliged for the present to do it only three days in the week. This disappointment is so much the more painful to him, as he has a quantity of interesting intelligence worthy the curiosity of the public, with which he will be unable to gratify them as speedily as he desired. But he is so very intent on satisfying those that are so condescending as to value his labour, that he will be eager to fulfill the conditions of his prospectus, as soon as his time and trouble will be the only sacrifice requisite to insure him the public approbation. To attain this desirable point the quicker, he intreats those persons who might still be undetermined, to acquaint him from the perusal of this first number, whether the plan he has adopted is agreeable to them, and whether he may rank them among his subscribers.

This was followed by an

INTRODUCTION

We do not pretend to dissemble how very difficult the career is, in which we now enter. Obliged to confine ourselves within the

narrow bounds of our paper, we shall not be able to relate daily and in all their extent, the numerous events that are produced by the situation in which all the powers of Europe are now involved. We will sometimes be anticipated by our competitors in the political race. Ever desirous of whatever is new, striking or uncommon, a peevish reader will sometimes say with disgust, "I read that yesterday," without giving himself the trouble to consider that the field is open to all: that he who is so lucky as to meet with any news, hastens to give them publicity, and that the others are obliged to copy them after him.

But would it not be proper, would it not be just to remember that those, through whose medium European news are transmitted to us, are not always disposed to favor an unfortunate stranger, whom no title can recommend, and that they will of course prefer to communicate to their countrymen, those funds they are so happily possessed of.

At last, will not a judicious reader prefer to find in a paper compiled with judgment and a certain degree of taste, an exact, though sometimes tardy, series of interesting events, select pieces of eloquence, political, moral, historical and literary extracts, rather than to be obliged to select them out of the confused collections with which we are daily overrun.

But the censure to which we are exposed on that account, which we have often unjustly experienced, and which we would have been spared by people a little more prone to indulgence, is not the only inconveniency to which our pursuit renders us liable. Although cast by misfortune upon a strange land, our fellow citizens are far from having abjured the opinions which accelerated their disasters and obliged them to quit their country. Exasperated by their losses and the anxieties they undergo, they brook but impatiently whatever is not conformable to their political tenets. It is impractible to exhibit events and reflections agreeable to some, without being exposed to the displeasure of others.

Nevertheless, inhabiting a free country and accountable for our actions to government and the laws only, we are determined to shake off the tyranny which hitherto has been practiced upon us, and to imitate those writers, who in the center of the French Republic, exercise all the privileges resulting from the liberty of the press.

Thus, ever firmly attached to our country, we will relate with pleasure every fact and event tending to render it more conspicuous; but a servile and pusillanimous fear, will never prompt us to conceal, disadvantages, should it labour under any, or to palliate the faults and mistakes of those who hold the reins of government. We will also speak of its enemies with the same impartiality, and avoid licentious and abusive invectives, which true patriotism disavows, and which are more detrimental than useful to the cause of freedom.

We will also admit to our paper all political disquisitions which may be handed to us, without attending to the party spirit that may dictate them, provided they contain no bitter reflections against individuals. The authors will not be designated unless they desire it, and if we require their signatures, it will only be to provide for our responsibility—abusive and anonimous letters will have no other notice taken of them, than that dictated by the contempt to which every individual is entitled who fears to make his name known.

We ought perhaps at the beginning of this paper, to present our readers with a short and comprehensive view of the political state of the European Powers. But it would be imprudent to venture any conjectures on designs and negociations which the interested parties conceal with the most mysterious veil; we will confine ourselves to lay before the Public, the frank declaration made on this subject by the French Government, in the Senate that seems to balance the destinies of the world.

The position of the New York paper was quite different to that of its Philadelphia contemporaries; they

throve on controversial troubles within the French colony, whereas in New York a sustaining subscription list demanded the good will of all who preferred to read their native language. This was rendered easier of accomplishment by the fact that those refugees from San Domingo who were controversially inclined naturally gravitated toward the seat of government and of political strife, leaving their less militant fellows who remained in the other cities, to pursue their own quieter ways. Typical of the editor's point of view is his request, in the issue for July 27, that the contributor of "an epilogue of the *Jays* and *owls*" would observe that "the French National Minister had not explained himself on the diplomatic act and it would be imprudent to anticipate his opinion."

The advertisements in the *Gazette* throw a great deal of light on the fortunes of the French immigrants. Many of these were clearly well to do, and as soon as they realized that there was not likely to be any hope of returning to peaceful French territory, in Europe or the West Indies, they arranged to settle in the United States. The local real estate dealers were quick to sense this chance for a market, and offered residences and farm property in terms curiously like those used 125 years later. The rich agricultural district of New Jersey was particularly attractive to the newcomers, who found conditions there under which they could resume life with their negroes much like what they had been accustomed to previously.

In the city itself, many of the Frenchmen undoubtedly settled down and prospered. A few of these helped the

paper by advertising in it, but for the most part they were rapidly absorbed into the ordinary life of the community, losing touch with the French colony. Those whose fortunes it is possible to follow are the ones who were less fortunate. Of these the most pathetic are those who were unable to do anything under the strange surroundings. Many had, before they were forced to leave their homes, abundant means, and they could not adapt themselves to living without an income. They brought slaves with them to attend to their accustomed wants, and these were among the first resource to be turned to account. The paper contains repeated offers of the services of house and farm hands. Occasionally these were for sale, but more often the desire was to rent the slaves for a longer or shorter period, thus securing an income rather than the ready money. The sale of choice pieces of furniture shows likewise how the refugee establishments gradually broke up. The description of these is an interesting index to what had been regarded as precious when the exodus from San Domingo took place. All were solid pieces, as they must have been to withstand the island conditions, but for the rest the most noticeable feature of the advertisements is that nothing is described which reads as if it would be welcomed by those who now seek for antique furniture.

The French who found it necessary to make an unaccustomed living turned most naturally to the two lines in which that nation surpasses its rivals, the care of persons who have to hire a place to live in, and the feeding

of those who have no home of their own. French boarding-houses and restaurants doubtless existed in New York long before 1790; after 1795 they were plainly a distinct feature of the city's life. In other ways the newcomers contributed largely to the gaiety of life. They opened a variety of amusement resorts, of various sorts. The French actors and singers were among the leading entertainers at the theaters; they opened a hippodrome and a panorama, an animal show and, until a gale ended its career, a balloon exhibition.

On July 17 the editor acknowledged himself in the imprint:

On souscrit à New-York chez J. Delafond, rédacteur & imprimeur de la *Gazette Française & Américaine*, Liberty-street, No. 63; a Philadelphie chez M. Moreau de Saint-Merry, imprimeur, Front-street, No. 84; a Boston chez MM. Hall & Nancrède, libraires, près la maison de l'Etat; a Charleston chez M. Beleurgey, imprimeur; a Baltimore, a Norfolk, & dans les autres Villes du Continent chez les Directeurs de la Poste.

A change of ownership was announced in the issue for October 2:

AU PUBLIC

Labruere, Parisot & Comp. ont l'honneur d'informer le Public que, d'après l'acquisition qu'ils viennent de faire de l'imprimerie de la *Gazette Française & Américaine*, le Bureau de ladite *Gazette* sera desormais etabli chez eux, Maiden-Lane, No. 56, où ils recevront les abonnemens, & se chargeront d'imprimer tous les ouvrages, français et anglais, cartes, annonces & avis qu'on desirera publier. Ils n'ont pas besoin, sans doute d'assurer qu'ils feront tous leurs efforts pour repondre à la confiance dont on voudra bien les honorer; le puissant interêt qu'ils ont de mériter les encouragemens du

public, les portera surement à ne rien négliger pour donner à la feuille dont ils entreprennent la continuation, tout l'interêt & tout l'agrément dont elle peut être susceptible, en évitant soigneusement tout ce qui pourrait choquer l'opinion dominante, en y inserant tous les morceaux qui pourront contribuer à relever l'eclat des deux nations alliées, & à faciliter les progrés de ceux qui desirent se perfectionner dans l'étude des langues française & américaine.

Ils présument qu'il est inutile de chercher à faire entrevoir l'avantage réel qui résulte des annonces & avis imprimés dans les deux langues.

The new publishers advertised that they had for sale at the printing office the "New French Calendar," possibly imported. Two later advertisements seem to imply that M. Labruere attended to the literary side of the undertaking, his partner being the practical printer. These announce, on October 26 and on November 9:

M. Labruère ouvrira, sans faute, son Ecole du soir, le premier de Novembre prochain.

M. Labruere vient de recevoir un parti de livres français, qu'il vendra au plus juste prix. Des alphabets pour les enfans. Maiden-Lane No. 56.

On February 15, 1796, appeared an inconspicuous announcement:

A Vendre

L'Imprimerie de la *Gazette française & américaine*—S'adresser aux Editeurs.

This appeared in each issue from Numbers 97 to 104, except Number 100. The file at the New York Historical Society, apparently complete, and the fragmentary

Harvard file both end with Number 104, for Wednesday, March 2. This issue contains nothing to intimate that it was the last, and no other evidence has been found to show whether a paper appeared on Friday, March 4. On Monday, March 7, it began a new career as a quarto, without any English text.

The Harvard file lacks the following thirty-eight numbers, inclusive: 1–16, 19–21, 23, 26, 29–30, 32, 34–35, 40–42, 45–46 [50?], 56–57, 61, 63–64, 77.

Two issues were numbered 49, and dated October 26. The later of these was doubtless the midweek issue which should have been Number 50, October 28. On the last day of February, 1796, the printer forgot that this was leap year, and dated Number 103 "March 1." The next issue appeared correctly dated March 2.

"GAZETTE FRANÇAISE," NEW YORK, 1796–99

The *Gazette* began its more prosperous career as a quarto on Monday, March 7, 1796. The smaller sheet measures not over 11½ by 9 inches. The title is a single line of roman capitals, GAZETTE FRANÇAISE, with the number of the issue above, centered, in parentheses, and "IMPRIMEE À NEW YORK, MAIDEN-LANE, No. 56" below between rules. The date runs across the page above the text, which is in two columns, that of the earliest issue found, Number 6, running "Du Vendredi 18 Mars 1796–29 Ventose, an 4 de la République Française." Doubtless the first of this numbering contained some statement explaining the change. The earliest editorial statement

in the extant issues is in Number 25, May 4, although it undoubtedly appeared in the three preceding issues, which are missing:

MM. les Souscripteurs à la *Gazette Française*, dans les différentes villes du Continent, qui ont un ou plusieurs quartiers d'abonnement échus ou près d'écheoir, sont instamment priés de vouloir bien, pour éviter les frais de poste, en faire passer le montant aux éditeurs; à défaut de quoi ils seraient obligés d'en discontinuer l'envoi.

MM. les Abonnés de cette ville, qui pourraient changer de demeure au Premier Mai, sont également priés de vouloir bien indiquer leur nouvelle demeure au bureau de cette feuille, qui, à compter du premier Mai prochain, sera établi Pearl-street, No. 51, près du Musaeum.

The next issue contains the more informing notice that

Cette Feuille paroît tous les Lundi, Mercredi, & Vendredi. On souscrit à New-York chez Parisot & Comp. éditeurs Pearl-street, No. 51; à Philadelphie chez G. Decombaz, libraire, Front-street, No. 83; à Boston chez Mr. Nancrede, libraire; à Charleston chez Mr. Beleurgey, imprimeur; à Baltimore, à Norfolk & dans les autres villes du Continent, chez les directeurs de la poste.

The price is added in the following issue, "Sept dollars par an, Deux dollars par trimestre, payable en souscrivant."

An important editorial change is announced in Number 160, March 15, 1797:

Avis. J. C. Parisot a l'honneur de prèvenir MM. les Souscripteurs à la *Gazette Française*, que, d'après les arrangemens qu'il a pris avec ses associes, il se trouve seul chargé de l'entreprise. Il se flatte que son zèle & son attention à rassembler dans sa feuille tout ce qui peut interesser plus particulièrement ses compatriotes, continueront de lui mériter les faveurs & la bien-veillance dont le public l'a honoré jusqu'ici. Il n'y aura aucun changement dans

la forme de la *Gazette*, ni pour le prix des abonnemens, que MM. les Souscripteurs sont instamment priés de vouloir bien renouveler à l'Imprimerie Française, qui est toujours Pearl-street, No. 51.

The local habit of moving on May Day was too much for him, and in Number 182, May 5, is the announcement that the Bureau, "par un événement imprévu, est changé et transporté dans Beekman-street, No. 81, où l'on trouvera un superbe Apartement à Louer." The numbers are missing that may have contained his explanation of the change to 37 Barclay Street, in May, 1798, and to 58 Chatham Street, in May, 1799.

The last issue in the Harvard file is Number 555, for October 4, 1799. The absence of any statement to the contrary doubtless proves that this was not the final issue.

A statement of editorial policy, as well as a side light on the vicissitudes of journalism at that time, appears in Number 8, March 23, 1796:

Il y a bien des années que le continent américain n'a eprouvé une disette de nouvelle du continent européen semblable à celle que nous eprouvons en ce moment. Depuis quatre mois il ne nous est arrivé que quelques bâtimens, de longue traversée, qui n'ont apporté que des nouvelles de vieille date, & dont encore les politiques des deux partis contestent l'authenticité. Aussi, à notre grand regret, notre feuille se ressent-elle de l'aridité de la saison, d'autant mieux que nous ne pouvons pas, comme nos confrères les journalistes américains, nous sauver avec les debats du Congrès, qui ne presentent aucun interêt à nos infortunés compatriotes. Nous profiterons néanmoins de la circonstance pour céder aux instances que nous ont faites quelques-uns d'entre eux qui pensent que quand on habite un pays on ne doit être indifferent aux événemens politiques qui peuvent l'interesser.

Jusqu'à present, en notre qualité de français, nous nous etions interdit de parler, ni en bien, ni en mal, du fameux traité de commerce & d'amitié conclu entre la Grande-Bretagne & les Etats-Unis. ... Cependant, il vient de paraitre une adresse [by Robert Goodloe Harper] qui contient un tableau si frappant des griefs allégués contre ce traité & en même temps des motifs de sagesse & de prudence qui ont engagé le gouvernement américain à le ratifier, que plusieurs de nos souscripteurs nous en ont demandé la traduction. ...

L'indisposition du redacteur & du compositeur de cette feuille, ont forcé d'en remettre la publication à demain au lieu d'aujourd'hui, & celle de vendredi ne pourra même paraitre que lundi. Si les deux premieres pages n'eussent pas été composées, nous eussions été à même de rendre cette feuille plus intéressante, au moyen de ce que le *Hunter*, capt. Whitlock, arrivé hier ici de Liverpool, en 29 jours, nous a apporté des papiers de Londres & de Paris jusqu'au 18 fevrier.

A brief summary of the most important occurrences is concluded with a promise to complete the foreign news five days later.

The Harvard file is the one sent to the Salem printer, William Carlton, publisher of the Salem *Gazette*, whose name is on most of the papers. It contains the following 235 numbers.

Numbers	Dates, Inclusive, of Missing Issues	Number Missing
	Mars 7–16	5
6–11	Avril 4–13	5
	[No issue for March 25]	
17–18	20–22	2
21	27–Mai 2	3
25–27	Mai 11–Juillet 6	25
53–54	Juillet 13	1
56–59	24–27	2

Numbers	Dates, Inclusive, of Missing Issues		Number Missing
62–65	Août	7	1
67–80	Sept.	12–14	2
83–92	Oct.	10	1
94		14–17	2
97–104	Nov.	7	1
106– 7		14	1
109–13		28	1
115–17	Dec.	7	1
119–21		16–19	2
124–25		26	1
127–46	Fev. (1797), 13		1
148–53	Mars	1– 5	3
157		10	1
159–61		20–22	2
164–66		31	1
168	Avril	5– 7	2
171–73		17	1
175–76		24	1
178–86	Mai	17	1
188–89		24	1
191–94	Juin	4	1
196		9	1
198–213	Juillet	19–26	4
	[No. 200 repeated the number 199 and date of the preceding issue]		
	[No. 210 contains six pages]		
218	Juillet	31	1
220	Août	4–14	5
226 "15 Août"		18–25	4
231–32	Sept.	1	1
234–35		8	1
237		13–18	3
241		22	1
243		27	1
245	Oct.	2– 4	2
248–50		13	1

Numbers	Dates, Inclusive, of Missing Issues		Number Missing
252		18	1
254–57		30–Nov. 3	3
261	Nov.	8	1
263–64		15–17	2
267		22–Dec. 4	6
274	Dec.	8–15	4
279		20–22	2
282		27—Jan. 12, 1798	8
291	1798, Jan.	17–Fev. 9	11
303– 4	Fev.	16–19	2
307		23	1
309–11	Mars	5– 7	2
314–16		16	1
318–19		23	1
321–22		30	1
324	Avril	4	1
326		9–13	3
330		18	1
332		23–25	2
335		30–Mai 4	3?
338, 7 Mai–340	Mai	14	1
[Two issues of the week of Apr. 30 may have had the same number]			
342–43	Mai	21 (?)	1
"344" [i.e., No. 345] 23	Mai	27–29	2
348–51	Juin	11–Août 1	23
375	Août	6–10	3
379–80		17—Fev. 20, 1799	80
460	1799, Fev.	25–27	2
463–64	Mars	6	1
466		11	1
468–69		18	1
471		22–25	2
474–76	Avril	3–Mai 8	15
492 [First leaf only]	Mai	13	1

Numbers	Dates, Inclusive, of Missing Issues	Number Missing
494	17	1
496	22–24	2
499	29–31	2
502	Juin 5–14	5
508–9	21–Juil. 24	15
525–29	Août 7	1
531	12	1
533–37	26–Sept. 2	4
542–44	Sept. 11	1
546	16–18	2
549–50	25	1
552	30	1
554–55		

NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORKERS

EXPLANATORY.—This issue of the Society's *Papers* is a part of the volume for 1920, issued to members of that year, but is printed early in 1923. Mr. Shearer's paper, read at the Atlantic City 1920 meeting, suggested the possibility of preparing a monograph on these early French papers, and the fulfilment of this plan has delayed the publication. The notes on the several papers have been gathered in collaboration with Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Alexander J. Wall, of the New York Historical Society, Harry M. Lydenberg and Daniel C. Haskell, of the New York Public Library, Miss Gertrude E. Robson and Dr. Charles L. Nichols, of the John Carter Brown Library, Miss Louise M. Taylor and Lawrence W. Jenkins, of the Essex Institute, and William Beer, of the Howard Memorial Library at New Orleans. To each of them the thanks of the Society are due. The material has been put into shape for publication by the chairman of the Publication Committee, who alone is responsible for the result.

An effort was made to copy the extracts from the papers as they were printed, as to spelling, punctuation, and especially accents. The compositors in a good many cases were not Frenchmen, and the printers worked carelessly, with cheap paper and poor ink. In some cases they did not have accented letters at first, and these were never secured for some of the larger fonts of type. It has therefore not seemed to be worth the expense of trying to print these extracts consistently, either according to later-day standards or literally as they first appeared. If apparent misprints are noticed, these presumably reproduce an original fault; if not, they are of the sort that occur in the original.

G. P. W.

ORIGINS.—The English Bibliographical Society is courageously carrying on its *Dictionary* of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland—the latest part, under Mr. Plomer's editorship, covering the years from 1668 to 1725, with notes on some 2,500 names.

In a single respect the volume is disappointing, although it is not surprising that it gives little help toward answering the question of where the printers came from who set up the first shops in the American colonies. The probability is that many of these first American printers were young men trained in London, who thought they would have a better future overseas than at home; it is quite clear from the *Dictionary* that they were not men who had failed in England, nor were they, with perhaps a single exception, scions of established printing families. The two typical examples, who figure in the *Dictionary*, are Marmaduke Johnson and William Bradford. The first was exceptional in that he had just begun to print over his own name when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel induced him to go to Massachusetts and finish John Eliot's *Indian Bible*. Bradford was an apprentice who married his master's daughter, and then came to America to make the new family's fortune.

The Index to the first volume of Evans' *American Bibliography* lists thirty-eight printers, and ninety-four others engaged in bookselling or binding, who were at work in the British American continental colonies before 1729. Of these, besides the two already mentioned, one permanent and two temporary residents of Boston figure prominently in the *Dictionary*—John Dunton and Benjamin Harris, and John Allen, if the London bookseller of 1669–85 may be identified with the Boston bookseller and printer of 1687–1724. Allen's association with Harris for a year or two adds to the likelihood that he may have been the same person as the London bookseller. The two lines that the *Dictionary* gives to William Parks have already been considerably expanded by a note in Mr. Wroth's *Printing in Colonial Maryland*, he having learned

just as his book was going to press of the probable identity of the man who printed in three English towns with the one who was active both in Maryland and Virginia. The only other name that occurs in both the American and the English lists is James Glen—an Edinburgh printer and bookseller of 1641–67 who may have had some connection with the man of that name who printed one book for Samuel Sewall, of Boston, in 1682.

Minorities.—A bibliography in which a lined-title with the descriptive note, "Imprimé par les soins de l'Agence Cook. Programme-Itinéraire," does not seem out of place, is something worthy of examination. It is a well-printed octavo volume of 149 pages, entitled: *Bibliographie du Tiers-Ordre Séculier de Saint-François au Canada* (*Province de Québec*), par Le R. P. Hugolin, O.F.M. Montréal, 1921. There are seven entries dated between 1670 and 1694, followed by a blank record to 1862, and seven more titles to 1880, when the record becomes very full. Its value to posterity is likely to be considerable, for it will be hard to find another record as complete as this is of all sorts of "occasional" printed things, such as posters, handbills, lists of religious services, and advertisements of a Cook's Tour.

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The Papers of the

Bibliographical Society of America

Volume XIII, Part 1. 1919

Daniel Webster's Speeches

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

The Bibliographical Society of America, which was founded in 1904 during the Conference of Librarians at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, on the initiative of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, has for its object the promotion of bibliographical research and the printing of bibliographical productions. The Society has held twenty-five semiannual meetings. The annual meeting is ordinarily held in connection with the American Library Association. A winter meeting is frequently held in connection with the American Historical Association. At these meetings many papers of interest to bibliographers, book collectors, and librarians have been read, and these have been published in the twelve volumes of the Society's Papers.

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The treasurer is Frederick W. Faxon, Roslindale, Mass.

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